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# Soviets to the West: trade, yes; ideology, no thanks

By Leo Grulow  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

Heads of state from abroad, foreign ministers, and international businessmen have been streaming into Moscow this year as rarely before. Cultural and scientific exchanges have been equally lively.

But in all this flowering of peaceful co-existence, there is one aspect of foreign contact that remains barred. It is ideological exchange.

Vadim K. Sobakin, a young professor of jurisprudence, spelled out the Soviet stand in New Times magazine this week.

The policy of peaceful co-existence, he said, aims at preventing war and subversion and at encouraging contact, but does not deny the existence of continuing ideological warfare. Westerners who think that only Pravda deals in ideology are nurturing an illusion, he declared, citing not only the existence of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which broadcast to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, but also — out of context — columnist James Reston's critical view of the use of media in the American elections.

Mr. Sobakin warned that the Communist bloc must be vigilant against ideological infiltration through exchanges of people and information.

When Americans think of exchange of ideas, they are apt to conceive of it as ideally a free and untrammelled flow. The Soviet Union encourages cultural exchange, but insists that it be carefully regulated.

The desire of Western countries to enlarge the exchange of people, ideas, and information and the Soviet Union's firm refusal to "open the borders" to unrestricted exchanges are likely to clash at the preliminary meeting for the European security conference.

This meeting, which opens in Helsinki Nov. 22, is to draft the agenda for the conference. Mr. Sobakin accuses the NATO countries of planning to demand concessions from the Communist lands in order to "open the borders" to "monstrosities of bourgeois culture and misinformation.

## Magazine project dropped

A decade ago, when cultural exchanges were new, Americans placed high hopes on them as meeting grounds for divergent ideas. At that time a New York publisher planned to issue a magazine to print, side by side, the contrasting views of Soviet and American writers about the problems of their respective societies.

But it soon became apparent that the hope of an uninhibited exchange of ideas was

unlikely to blossom, and the project was dropped. American newspaper editors asked the right of free sale of some of their papers in Moscow on a reciprocal basis — Soviet newspapers circulate freely in the United States — and were turned down.

An occasional limited exchange of individual articles occurs, as well as a government-approved exchange of stage performers. But the exchange which overshadows all today is in the realm of science, technology and business.

Even here, ideological rivalry turns up. The American-Soviet Joint Committee on Environmental Protection recently adopted a program of 30 shared projects. The American co-chairman, Russell E. Train, spoke at a press conference after a field trip around the Soviet Union. That same day, Kommunist magazine went to press with an article by the Soviet co-chairman, academician Eugene Fedorov.

The first questions put to Mr. Train from American reporters were about whether America is not more sophisticated than the Soviet Union in matters of pollution. Mr. Train said he thought America had the edge.

Mr. Fedorov's article stressed what he considered communism's superior capacity to cope with environmental problems and referred to the rapacity of capitalism as a cause of the spread of world pollution.

Scientists and businessmen, however, can agree to disagree on the merits of their respective societies and then go on about their work in harmony, which is what Messrs. Train and Fedorov did. But the Soviet Union considers journalists, writers, and even artists "ideological," and here the attitude is that "never the twain shall meet."

The businessmen and technicians are apt to provide the real exchange of ideas in the future. So if you are planning to start a journal of cultural exchange, make it a magazine of science, technology, or trade, where hard self-interest dictates cooperation on both sides.

In the meantime, you can enjoy the Bolshoi Ballet in New York and the New York City Ballet in Moscow — as long as they don't tangle with conflicting social or political ideas.

STATINTL

4 OCT 1972

# Putting Down Dissent in Russia

By GEORGE MELLOAN

When the United States mined North Vietnam's harbors last spring, putting several Russian ships in some jeopardy, a key question was whether Russian leaders would call off their May summit meeting with President Nixon.

The fact that they did not suggested that the Soviet leaders wanted the summit badly enough to ignore the mining, after some relatively mild protestations. What was not so well known was why.

The Soviet leaders were presumed to be concerned about the U.S. overtures toward Russia's big neighbor, China. Leonid Brezhnev also was said to yearn for a place in history as a peacemaker.

These speculations may have had some validity but hindsight now suggests another reason which could well have been the most important of all: The Soviet leaders may have wanted the summit for the simplest of all possible reasons—the knowledge that they would need U.S. food to tide them over an impending crop failure. This interpretation offers somewhat less promise for future improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations than did some of the earlier appraisals. Also, some of the earlier, hopeful interpretations have been tarnished by a post-summit wave of official repression inside the Soviet Union.

## The Politics of Food

Well-fed Americans can easily underestimate the importance that food production has for a Soviet regime. That nation of some 240 million people seldom has a comfortable margin of food production, and agricultural failure and political turmoil have been closely linked throughout Russian history. Starvation and violent repression went hand in hand in the Stalinist 1930s. Nikita Khrushchev was blamed for the 1963 crop failures when he was toppled in 1964. No Soviet regime—or for that matter any regime anywhere—feels comfortable with hunger. And with the Canadian and Australian grain crops heavily committed, the Russians may have foreseen that the U.S. might be their only certain source for very large prospective needs.

Now that \$1 billion in U.S. grain has bailed the Soviet leaders out of their immediate food difficulties, another question arises: Could Nixon, Kissinger & Co. have driven a far harder bargain, not only on grain but on the more important issue of strategic arms limitation? Could they have gotten stronger Soviet support for a Vietnam peace settlement? And a further question, from a few Americans who have contacts with the Russian political underground—could President Nixon have used his advantage (which they claim was substantial) to relieve some of the burdens of the Russian people?

There is no simple answer to these questions, but, as a starting point, it is unlikely that the Nixon team knew as much as the Russians knew in May of the difficulties that would eventually wipe out some 30% of this year's Russian grain crops, according to pres-

ent estimates. U.S. weather satellites can monitor growing conditions in the Soviet Union and other satellite devices may offer even more precise means for monitoring Soviet crops. But satellites cannot measure such problems as bureaucratic bungling, tractor parts shortages or footdragging among discontented farm workers. Further, there were expectations until very recently that a good spring wheat harvest in the virgin lands of Central Asia would offset some of the crop losses that occurred earlier this year in the Ukraine. But only in recent days has it become evident that an early rain and snowfall will diminish the virgin lands crops as well.

A case could be made that a tougher U.S. stance at the summit would eventually have exposed the weakness of the Soviet position. But it should be kept in mind that President Nixon's bargaining position was not rock solid either. He was under strong election year pressure from war critics; he needed something to placate restive farmers.

While it is not entirely idle to hash over the questions of what might have been, the really important issue is what might still be in the U.S.-Soviet relationship. And to answer that question an examination of the Soviet Union's internal political situation is of some value.

The salient fact is that the Soviet people appear to be experiencing a new wave of official repression which got underway last winter but has become particularly severe since the summit.

Communist Party ideologue Mikhail A. Suslov, who had delivered the coup de grace to Khrushchev's era in 1964, helped launch the post-summit offensive. He declared that the West was seeking to "implant in our society poisonous seeds" which he described in some detail in that special language of the Soviet catechism.

Some of the repressive measures have made the world press. For example, Pyotr Yakir, a 49-year-old historian who has been a prominent champion of civil rights, was jailed in late June for allegedly passing "anti-Soviet propaganda" to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. And, of course, the August 3 edict by the Soviet government, requiring prospective emigrants to pay an expensive head tax before being allowed to leave, represented a significant hardening of the official position towards Soviet Jews seeking to emigrate to Israel and other lands.

Other measures are described by Americans who have been in recent touch with Russian dissidents. They say that closer restrictions on travelers, both foreign and Russian, were applied in June, with five-day limits placed on visits by foreigners to some cities and closer questioning of travelers about who they planned to talk with or visit.

According to these reports there also have been numerous arrests of dissidents in the more restive non-Russian republics, particularly the Ukraine and Lithuania. And a purge of the Communist Party appeared to be in the works in June with a demand that members must turn in their party cards so that membership could be reviewed and new cards is-

sued. One party directive complained that too many party members were being seen in church.

A few dissidents have simply been expelled from the country. One of them, who prefers not to be identified, said recently in a private interview with an American that he regards the present situation as more serious and ominous than anything that has happened since Stalin. "The prisons are filling and the mental asylums are overflowing," he is quoted as saying by his interviewer. "All my friends are now in prison or have served time or they are passing time in mental asylums."

## A Struggle for Power?

The interpretation this young man places on the events he describes is that the KGB, the Soviet Union's security police organization, has grown in strength and is vying actively for political power with both the party and the military. It is demonstrating its power not only through a Stalinist style crack-down on dissidents but in other ways, he claims. Last autumn, for example, the KGB incorporated into its ranks the regular police, or militia, which handles routine police work such as arresting drunks or breaking up fights. Further, the KGB has been conducting an active recruiting program in factories and is having more success at its recruiting than is the Komsomol, or youth branch of the party.

The reports of expelled dissidents normally have a high emotional content and thus such judgments must be regarded with some skepticism. But such sources sometimes are in a better position to know and report what is really happening inside the Soviet Union than Western journalists, whose contacts and activities are restricted and monitored with some efficiency.

If nothing else, the reports serve to remind Westerners that the Soviet Union is not really a monolith. Popular disaffection towards the government is widespread. Ethnic conflicts between the predominant Russians and such national groups as the Ukrainians, Georgians, Tatars, Uzbeks, Lithuanians and others smolder just below the surface. Ukrainian nationalism, which has been flaring up in recent years, might even have had something to do with the harvest difficulties.

The population is kept under control through government administration of travel and residence permits, job assignments and the various other levels that stem from near-total government control of the nation's economic life. Ultimately, of course, there is the secret police.

Events have shown that this type of political system is never as stable as it sometimes seems to those on the outside who know nothing of its internal tensions and stresses. It may well be true that a struggle is taking place between the party and the KGB. There is a historical precedent. Only the quick, combined action of Politburo party stalwarts prevented Secret Police Chief Lavrenti Beria from seizing power after the death of Stalin. If Nikita Khrushchev's account can be believed,



30 AUG 1972

## Radio CIA researches espionage market



By ERIK BERT

One of the problems confronting sales managers is how the product they are peddling is being received. To that end market research has been concocted, a perversion of psychology, sociology, and statistics.

The Central Intelligence Agency has a similar problem with its product, the propaganda it directs at the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries through Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe.

The critical question for the CIA is how well it is succeeding in its attempts at subversion.

To this end Radio Free Europe's Audience and Public Opinion Research Department in Munich developed a methodology for assessing East European public opinion.

This is described in the study of RFE which the Library of Congress produced for the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee earlier this year.

The "market" being surveyed to enlighten the CIA consists of the 200,000 or so East Europeans who visit Western Europe each year as tourists, visitors, commercial travelers, or sportsmen. From among these some 6,500 to 7,000 are interviewed, some 1,000 or more each from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania, and fewer than 1,000 from Bulgaria.

The researchers exclude, as far as possible, "refugees or immigrants who have made a psychological break with the thinking of their compatriots."

The "samples consist wholly or almost wholly" of such nationals as are planning to return to their native countries."

This concentration on nationals who will return home, rather than those who have 'gone West' in more ways than one, offers the prospect not only of relevant opinion research but, God willing, of subversion and espionage.

The problem of organizing these surveys about the CIA radios' effectiveness is tricky.

Those who are to be interviewed cannot, obviously, be told that they are being interviewed for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Therefore, the "interviews are conducted by independent research organizations under contract to Radio Free Europe." The "respondents are said to be unaware of the RFE (let alone, the CIA-EB) sponsorship of the interviews."

These "research" institutions are not so "independent" that they disdain working for U.S. intelligence.

The research institutions used

by the Central Intelligence Agency's Radio Free Europe include, according to the Library of Congress study:

INTORA Opinion Research Institute, Vienna.

A.I.M. Market Research Institute, Copenhagen.

A.I.M. Market Research Institute, Stockholm.

William Schlackman Psychological Research, London.

Sales Research Services, London.

SOFRES Opinion Research Institute, Paris.

COFREMCA Opinion Research Institute, Paris.

Vandoros, Athens.

The Library of Congress study includes tabular material showing the composition of the persons interviewed in 1970, by occupation, sex, age, and by party preference.

It is impossible to say how legitimate these figures are. They do show either a predominance of non-Communists among those visiting Western Europe or a very low proportion of Communists talking to the CIA's "independent" researchers, or both.

The political orientation of those interviewed samples in 1970 were:

	Czechoslovakia	Hungary	Poland	Romania.
Communist	3	5	3	11
Democratic Socialist	41	40	35	37
Christian Democratic	26	27	36	23
Peasant	6	13	6	8
National Conservative	7	2	5	13
Other and no answer	17	13	15	8



## Congress adopts \$38.5 million agitator

By ERIK BERT

On August 6 the House of Representatives by a vote of 375 to 7 approved the appropriation of \$38.5 million for the operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty through June 30, 1973.

There was a flurry earlier in the year when Sen. J. W. Fulbright urged that the two operations be phased out as relics of the cold war.

The problem of giving the two radios a Mr. Clean treatment was initiated in January, 1971, according to James R. Price, the author of the Library of Congress study of Radio Free Europe.

"Both radios had hitherto ostensibly been supported by private funds but had actually been largely funded by the Central Intelligence Agency."

Without Congressional funding, and with CIA funding under a cloud, the 1,600 employees of Radio Free Europe, who carry the cold war to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania, would have had to go on relief. So, too, would the 1,000

operatives of Radio Liberty whose cold-war efforts are directed at the Soviet Union.

The funding has been shifted from the CIA to Congress, but there is no evidence that the political direction has been shifted. In fact, the 2,600 operatives are still devoted to the cold war.

How direction of these enterprises was carried through in the past is not yet public information. Last March 6 Sen. Fulbright informed his colleagues and the members of the House that they could look at a "brief description of the arrangements used by the executive branch to maintain policy control and direction of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty."

This was on "on a classified basis only, a restriction insisted upon by the State Department," Fulbright said.

The secret "brief description" has not yet found its way into Jack Anderson's syndicated column or Pentagon-style Papers.

The Library of Congress study of RFE, introduced into the Congressional Record of March 6,

says, "it is a safe assumption that contact between that (Central Intelligence) Agency and Free Europe, Inc., was probably a major function of the Free Europe Inc. corporate headquarters," located in New York.

The boards of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the Library of Congress study said, "are comprised of citizens of considerable prominence—men who have ready access to leading business and political circles in the United States, and who do not hesitate to make use of this access when the interests of the corporation so demand."

We can confidently expect, on the basis of past experience, that the shift in funding to Congress will not affect Radio Free Europe's outlook. In fact, the Free Europe Inc. board of directors used to rely on RFE's Munich headquarters in the past to carry through the basic subversion and espionage for which it was organized.

"Trust and confidence in RFE's management and procedures" formed the basis of the relationship.

The degree of confidence of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Free Europe Inc. board of directors in their West German headquarters was evident in the fact that, as the Library of Congress study puts it, "Radio Free Europe management in Munich enjoys a near-total autonomy in decision-making" "in the conduct of its daily broadcasts."

Radio Liberty enjoyed a similar degree of independence.

"It seems to have a wide range of independence from the Executive Branch," "its operating policies seem to be generated within the organization and not necessarily dictated by an outside authority"—like the CIA—according to the Library of Congress study.

This independence did not invite divergence. Rather, Radio Liberty's independence was based on its having the same anti-socialist, anti-Soviet, espionage objectives as its "sponsor," the CIA.

In taking over the funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, Congress has not taken over the determination of their policies.



TO THE REVIEW:

Thank you for the latest in the continuing series of Darts you have been shooting at the Newspaper Guild recently [PASSING COMMENT, March/April].

I don't know why you found it purposeful to say that the Guild's interest in seeking continued funding for Radio Free Europe "appears" to be a hangover from the days when the Guild itself was involved in Central Intelligence Agency funding, when the answer to our interest appears in the sentence following that statement: our interest stems from the interest of 284 people who will be out of work if this agency's activities are either curtailed or ceased. ✓

That should seem to be justification enough, except to those who find some self-serving purpose in resurrecting references to incidents which still have to be proved.

CHARLES A. PERLIK, JR.  
President  
The Newspaper Guild

DAILY WORLD  
11 AUG 1977

# the VIEW from LEFT FIELD

By MIKE JAY

## Rhodesia in, but as 'British'

The International Olympic Committee has responded to the demands of the Supreme African Sports Council that racist Rhodesia be barred from competing at the Munich Games by ruling that the Rhodesian athletes can compete . . . but as British subjects.

The controversy over Rhodesia's participation threatened to throw a huge monkey wrench into the Olympics at Munich later this month. Independent African nations threatened to boycott the Games and the Supreme Council issued a call for others to follow suit. Rhodesia's white minority racist regime is an international outlaw, not recognized by the United Nations.

But the organizers of the Munich Games invited the Rhodesians to participate as a sovereign state, arousing a storm of protest from foes of racism the world over.

The compromise worked out by the IOC has been accepted by the Supreme Council, according to a UPI report from Munich. Jean-Claude Ganga, general secretary of the African group, is quoted as saying that the Supreme Council has accepted the IOC's guarantee that the Rhodesians would participate as "Southern Rhodesia" and its athletes identified as "British subjects."

In other Olympic news, the German Democratic Republic has announced that it is sending a total of 324 athletes to Munich for the Games, competing in 17 of the 21 Olympic events.

There is special importance to this news, for the games at Munich, in the Federal Republic of Germany, will mark the first time that a team from the GDR will compete in an Olympics on absolutely equal footing with other nations.

For the first time in the summer games the athletes will compete under the rightful name of the GDR, under the emblem of the socialist state, the national flag and the national anthem of their country.

At a press conference this week in Berlin, GDR, Dr. Heinz Schoebel, president of the GDR National Olympic Committee, hailed the significance of this victory and expressed the hope that the Munich organizers would see to it that the rules are adhered to without any disturbances. Munich, of course, is a hotbed of anti-socialist activities and neo-Nazism. It is the home of two CIA radio stations from the U.S., Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and there is concern that these elements will attempt to disrupt the Games for their own foul purposes. . .

"Ping-pong diplomacy" has reached another low. Thailand, which has become the main base of U.S. military might in Indochina, has decided to send a table tennis team to Peking for a tournament involving Asian countries. . .

Having won his 13th game in a row and his 18th of the year, Steve Carlton, pitcher for the Philadelphia Phillies, is working towards his first Cy Young Award and possibly toward MVP honors in the National League.

He should be a contender if he doesn't win another game this year. Anybody who can win that many games for a team as bad as the Phillies gets my vote. . .

Two beautiful pennant races that didn't figure at the start of the season are making the American League interesting to watch, for a change. The Oakland A's are finding themselves locked in battle with the Chicago White Sox, of all people, in the West, and there's a four-way battle in the East among the Tigers, Orioles, Yankees and Red Sox. The Mets are taking the New York sports page headlines away from the Mets. I figure they'll win the pennant, pick up a huge New York following,

NEW YORK  
11 AUG 1972

STATINTL

## Soviet Asks U.N. to Bar Intrusion by Satellite TV

By HEDRICK SMITH  
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Aug. 10—The Soviet Union today proposed an international convention to prevent nations from directing television broadcasts from satellites to private homes in other countries without the countries' express consent.

The Soviet press agency, Tass, made public the proposal, which was formally submitted by letter two days ago by Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko to Secretary General Waldheim of the United Nations.

Mr. Gromyko's letter requested that the Soviet proposal and draft convention be submitted to the 27th General Assembly of the United Nations this fall.

According to the Soviet draft, broadcasts beamed into a foreign country without its authorization would represent "interference in a state's internal affairs" and would be

banned. In case of violations, the Soviet proposal would grant the aggrieved nation the right of unspecified counter-measures.

The Soviet proposal was seen as an effort to head off future use by such ideological rivals as the United States or China of satellite relay systems to beam television programs directly to the sets of private Soviet viewers.

Scientists have written that transmission by satellite to home television screens is technically feasible, but such a system has yet to be put in operation anywhere.

The Soviet Union, which seeks to control carefully the flow of information to its people, currently jams such foreign radio broadcasts as Russian-language transmissions

of the Voice of America and Radio Liberty, making reception quite difficult in heavily populated regions and major cities. Technically, it would be relatively easy to jam satellite transmissions too.

Soviet access to foreign newspapers is also tightly regulated. Only limited numbers of Western newspapers are permitted into the country, for purchase by resident or visiting foreigners, or for closely controlled circulation to Soviet editors or other trusted members of the Establishment.

Despite the jamming and the censorship, however, many Russians privately report that they listen of foreign broadcasts and, even now in Soviet Estonia, private citizens can pick up Finnish television. But the prospect that this practice might spread and reach the large majority of Soviet people evidently disturbs the Kremlin.

Mr. Gromyko's covering let-

ter said that the proposed convention on satellite relays was "necessary to protect the sovereignty of states against any outside interference and prevent the turning of direct television broadcasting into a source of international conflicts and aggravation of relations between states."

Specifically, the Soviet proposal would commit signatory nations not to transmit via satellites "materials propagandizing ideas of war, militarism, Nazism, national and racial hatred and enmity between peoples, and equally, material of immoral or provocative nature or otherwise aimed at interference in internal affairs of other states or their foreign policy."

Among particular categories to be recognized as unlawful were programs "containing propaganda of violence," horrors, pornography and use of narcotics" and those "undermining the principles of local civilization, culture, everyday life, tradition and language," and those "representing misinformation of

the population on that or other questions."

One article appeared to give countries the right to jam electronically satellite relay transmissions and to interfere actively with foreign satellites used to relay objectionable material. It granted them the right to "use measures within their reach" to counteract unlawful transmissions "not only on their territory but in outer space and other places outside the bounds" of their own territory.

Other provisions called for cooperation between nations on technical matters as distribution of frequencies, elimination of interference with sea and air transport, and copyright of television broadcasts.

The prominent publicity given the Soviet proposal in the controlled media here today suggest that Moscow was planning a major campaign at the United Nations session this fall for some restrictions on satellite-relayed television broadcasts even if it had little hope for such a strict ban as the one proposed today.

8 AUG 1972

# House Balks, Passes Only 6 Of Minor Bills

By Richard L. Lyons

Washington Post Staff Writer

The House rebelled against being told to vote on 24 bills yesterday and after a series of half-hour roll calls persuaded the leadership to quit after only six had been taken up and passed.

Yesterday was one of two days this month when the House under its rules can pass non-controversial bills under a usually quick procedure that permits only 40 minutes' debate and no amendments, and requires a two-thirds vote to pass.

The other Monday for suspending the rules will be lost to the recess for the Aug. 21-23 Republican National Convention. In an effort to clear away as much work as possible, House leaders put every available minor bill on yesterday's schedule.

But for various reasons, including members' resentment at being asked to ram through 24 bills in one sitting after a leisurely schedule of 3½-day weeks most of the session, the attempt didn't work. Conservatives demanded roll call votes on every bill, including one that passed by a vote of 380 to 2. At 6:30 p.m., the leadership gave up and adjourned.

The six bills would:

- Increase from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year pensions for the six widows of Supreme Court justices. The bill, which passed 280 to 97 and has been approved by the Senate in different form, was drafted after reports that one or more of

the widows are almost destitute. The bill also permits justices in the future to contribute to funds to provide for their widows.

- Make it a federal crime to murder, kidnap, or harass a foreign official in this country. It was approved, 380 to 2, and sent to the Senate.

- Authorize \$38.5 million to finance activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty this year. The Senate-passed bill was sent to the White House by a vote of 375 to 7. Until last year the stations, which broadcast to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, had been financed by Central Intelligence Agency and private funds.

- Extend for two years the period in which federal funds will pay the first \$25,000 relocation costs for persons whose property is taken for a federal project. The bill, which had passed the Senate in different form, was approved 374 to 10.

- Permit employees of non-profit hospitals to use machinery of the National Labor Relations Board to obtain recognition of their unions. Most hospital strikes have been caused not by disagreements over wages but over whether the hospital would recognize the workers' bargaining unit. It was sent to the Senate by a vote of 285 to 95.

- Strengthen administration of a law requiring that employees of a company holding a government service contract, such as a laundry servicing a military base, be paid the prevailing wage and fringe benefits in the locality. The bill issues more specific enforcement directives to the Labor Department, which the House Education and Labor Committee said has been lax in enforcement. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 274 to 103.

H.R. 12308 Establishes a National Institute on Aging.

H.R. 12325 Provides homemaking and consumer education assistance for the elderly.

H.R. 13128 Updates pensions for World War I veterans and widows.

H.R. 14977 Provides for voluntary employment programs for older persons.

H. Res. 124 Establishes a Select Committee on the Aging to study problems and needs of the elderly.

S. 1163 Provides increases in the field of nutrition, education, and low-cost meals for the aged.

### FEDERAL HELP FOR CITIZENS' GROUPS

**HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 4, 1972

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, incidents of crime have increasingly marred the daily lives of all Americans. Effective measures to forestall the rate of crime must be given the fullest attention of Congress. One successful method has been the formation of citizen groups to patrol their own communities.

I have recently received a petition from New York City residents supporting H.R. 12262, the Citizen Anticrime Patrol Assistance Act which I originated and have introduced in the House. This legislation would provide Federal assistance to citizens' self-help organizations for their efforts to curb crime and restore peace to neighborhoods. Such assistance could be used for the formation of crime watch patrols and the coordination of escort services to help residents reach their homes safely. The assistance under this bill is not intended to fight crime through the use of guns and strong-arm methods. Instead, it would deter the occurrences of crime by the interested presence of organized residents. I have previously provided a detailed description of the purposes and provisions of the Citizen Anticrime Patrol Assistance Act on December 13, 1972 at pages H12391-12392 of the RECORD.

I am particularly pleased to submit for the RECORD the following petition signed by 65 residents of the 23d Congressional District which I have the honor to represent as an indication of popular support for legislation of this kind.

The petition follows:

BRONX, N.Y., March 7, 1972.

MR. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,  
Congressman 23d District,  
Bronx, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: We the citizens of the Bronx and other Boroughs heartedly endorse your proposal to enact legislation to obtain "Federal Funds" to finance a "safe street" program whereby, citizens could have street protection and escort services in hallways and stairs. Especially senior citizens who are afraid to go out evenings to churches etc., and especially in high crime areas we are, also opposed to funds being used for guns or any form of weapons or transportation.

Please accept the following signatures to back-up our sentiments:

SIGNED BY 65 NEW YORK RESIDENTS.

Rev. S. A. Allen, Carolyn Allen, Geneva Walker, Rosetta Grover, V. M. Fred Albritton, David Tuckey, Jesse Tuckey, Dorothy Gray, Katie Williams, William Kitt.

Venus Price, Wayne Neals, Paul Neal, Mrs. Charlie Mae Luckey, Mrs. Audrey Williams, Annie Slatee, Edith Wingate, Ethelise Williams, Mrs. Kupert F. Bowman, Samuel Scott, Mrs. Louise Kitt, Chirle Hassel, Kattie Williams, Barbara Slatee, Lillie Greene, Donald Smith, Wally Slater, Laurene Gruleb, Jasper Williams, Essie Bowman,

Mrs. Brenda Funnaye, Mr. Buster Lee Funnaye, Mr. and Mrs. S. Sussman, Sonnie Wisle, Mrs. F. Glastern, Julius Glastern, M. K. Kroniss, Hyachith A. Davis, M.D., Carmen Ortiz, William Smith,

Carrie Bradley, R. Hedman, A. W. Madden, C. Lipschitz, Joanne Goluck, Ana Rodriguez, S. Golafede, S. Bernstein, J. Finan, Mrs. Cera Northern,

Barnet Shafron, Julie Kaplan, M. Syloette, Josephine Syloette, Brenda Robinson, Juan Rivera, Millie Santos, Goofy Velez, A. Arfin, V. Brathwaite,

R. Arum, Chris Fargo, Juan Ruiz, Ruben Stewart, Seymour Clark, Mr. Morris, Luis Magdalena, J. Toben, M. Schneider,

John Argot, W. Glazer, A. Homstein, B. Glazer, Henri and Gladys Vilarie, John Henry Snow, Tassas Decilhos, W. Samborg.

### A FRESH LOOK AT RADIO LIBERTY AND RADIO FREE EUROPE

**HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 7, 1972

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I voted today to approve the interim extension of financing for Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. I did this with some serious reservations about the wisdom of continued official American support for these stations which broadcast to the Soviet Union and to the other eastern European countries, respectively.

This reservation stems from the earlier clandestine American involvement in supporting these broadcasts, through the Central Intelligence Agency. With the exposure of that support, which was done without congressional authorization, must come a new status for these stations. Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe should either continue to receive official American support under appropriate fiscal and policy controls—in which case they probably should be incorporated into Voice of America programming—or they should be fully independent of official support and control. Giving public support without public controls is wrong; duplicating Voice of America broadcasting, through Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty is wasteful; and trying to maintain the fiction that we can officially fund private attacks on other governments while trying to improve relations with those governments is foolish.

I support this interim program with the understanding that the study of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty which we authorize with that support will yield a prompt solution to the present anomalous status of these stations.

### FDA BAN OF DES TARDY AND INADEQUATE

**HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN**

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 7, 1972

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday the Food and Drug Administration announced that it has taken action to ban the use of diethylstilbestrol—DES—as a growth stimulant in animal feeds. In explaining the basis for this action, FDA Commissioner Charles C. Edwards said that new scientific data developed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture—USDA casts serious doubt on FDA's ability to set rules for the use of DES in animal feed that will assure against residues remaining in animal livers. Thus, the United States has now taken steps to join 21 other countries in banning the use of this cancer-promoting drug in the production of meat.

I am pleased that FDA has finally faced up to its responsibility for enforcing the law, but this action is long overdue. It was required many months ago when it became clearly evident that the use of DES in livestock feeding could not be controlled.

Although FDA has finally halted the manufacture of DES for feeding purposes, I find it indefensible that Commissioner Edwards is permitting the continued shipment and use of feed mixes containing DES until January 1, 1973. If the law requires FDA "to discontinue approval for use of the chemical in animal feed," as Commissioner Edwards stated in his news release, I do not know the source of his legal authority for sanctioning the continued interstate shipment of DES mixes. Both the wisdom and the legality of permitting a 5-month phaseout period for a product which can no longer be legally manufactured must be seriously questioned. There is no justification, in my opinion, for exposing the public another 5 months to a drug which is known to be a potent cancer-promoting substance and which FDA now acknowledges cannot be kept out of the liver we eat.

The Commissioner's statement that DES has been used in the feed of cattle and sheep for nearly two decades "without a single known instance of human harm" is not very reassuring. As the Commissioner surely knows, it is virtually impossible to prove in this time period that small amounts of any carcinogen, no matter how potent, have harmed humans, because cancers in man may not become apparent until decades after the exposure has taken place. Moreover, there is no available scientific method for demonstrating that a very widely used carcinogen, such as DES in livestock feed, is or is not the causative agent for any form of cancer which develops in man.

What we do know is that DES, which has long been known to cause cancer in numerous species of experimental animals, was associated for the first time last year with human cancer. Medical

HOUSTON POST  
4 August 1972

# Radios kept alive despite Fulbright

By Donald R. Morris

Post News Analyst

Radio Free Europe, broadcasting into East Europe, and Radio Liberty, broadcasting into the Soviet Union, are safe for another year.

Sen. J. W. Fulbright's attempt to choke them has been beaten down. (In view of the measure of senatorial support they received, "crushed down" might be a better term.)

The Radios were started in 1950 by the United States government. Wishing to conceal its hand, the government made use of the nascent CIA to establish and fund them, which the agency ably did. The rationale was only partly the desire to achieve plausible denial—after all, the government was overtly broadcasting much the same sort of material on the Voice of America. Far more important was the fact that the potential audience would be much more receptive to material emanating from a "private" enterprise than it would be to official broadcasts from a foreign government it regarded with some hostility.

This was—and is—a perfectly workable device. The sponsorship of the Radios didn't fool the KGB, which promptly set up a clamor, and it didn't so much fool as lull the audience; the object was to get people behind the Iron Curtain to listen to the news, and starting broadcasts with "This is the United States government speaking" simply set the red lights flashing.

There was never a deliberate attempt to fool the American public after the first few years, when private funds were solicited through commercial advertisements in President Eisenhower's name.

By the time of the Hungarian revolt in 1956, the Radios' tattered virginity could not be patched and the effort was abandoned; by the 1960s their continued existence as "private" enterprises resembled an elephant trying to do behind lamp post.

Sen. Clifford Case, offended by this anomaly, tried to make honest stations out of the Radios in 1971, by excising the CIA funding duct and replacing it with direct congressional appropriations. This would have destroyed what little plausible denial the Radios still possessed—and be it remembered the plausible denial was designed not for the American public but for the audience behind the Iron Curtain.

Sen. Fulbright, however, wished to go further. Abetted by Sen. Mike Mansfield and Stuart Symington, who, with Sen. William Proxmire, constitute a group known in certain governmental circles as "The Anvil Chorus," he tried to kill off the Radios, on the grounds that they antagonized the ruling cliques of totalitarian states with whom we were attempting to achieve a detente.

The Radios are listened to regularly by an estimated 300 million people in Eastern Europe—half the population over the age of 14—and very few of them appear to be antagonized.

Senatorial reaction—as well as American press comment, which ran 20 to 1 in favor of the Radios—proved to be more far-sighted than the Anvil Chorus. The Radios can now continue, in peace, quiet and considerably more limelight than they appreciate, until the next fiscal year.

18 JUL 1972



International

STATINTL

## Radio Liberty's multi-lingual subversion

By ERIK BERT

The New York Times has recently been featuring Lithuania in its Moscow dispatches. If a Lithuanian nationalist belches or burps you can be certain that the New York Times will find out about it, report it, via underground sources, as a signal of socialist Soviet Lithuania rising up against socialism, the Soviet Union, Karl Marx and so on.

There is a parallel between the New York Times' concern for the Soviet nationalities and that of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Thus, the CIA's outlet to the Soviet Union, Radio Liberty, has a "specialized interest in the non-Russian nationalities" in its operations, the Library of Congress study of RL reports.

The ramifications of the CIA's Radio Liberty operation may be judged in part by the fact that its Nationalities Service broadcasts in Ukrainian and Byelorussian, both Slavic languages; and in the following non-Slavic languages: Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Georgian; the North Caucasian languages, Adighe, Avar, Chechen, Karachi, Ossetian, Tatar-Bashkir, and Crimean Tatar; and the Turkestan languages, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen, Uighur and Uzbek, and in Karakalpak.

The CIA's "RL regards the nationality question as one that is and will continue to be a critical and potentially divisive problem of the Soviet system." The tactical objective of the CIA is to get nationalists to "make common cause with each other outside the framework of official Soviet policy."

It attempts to instigate nationalistic antagonism within the Soviet Union, and to frustrate the attempt to create, among the many nationalities that comprise the USSR, "a single 'Soviet people.'"

Radio Liberty seeks to stimulate "national (nationalistic—EB) and local interests versus the all-Union regime," denouncing "over-centralization of state power at the expense of the regions."

In the USSR, it "concentrates on the immediate

task of encouraging the nationalities separately...against the centralized regime."

The target is the Soviet system and the CIA therefore "avoids stimulating antagonism among the Soviet peoples whatever their nationality" for such nationalistic antagonism would confuse its anti-Soviet goals.

To this end, appended to Radio Liberty's Policy Manual is a "series of National Language Annexes for each (non-Russian—EB) language service." They provide "specific commentaries on the unique aspects of broadcasts in the given language" and "determine for each nationality any special goals or emphasis, specific policy lines, and distinctive audience characteristics."

"The annexes also state RL's (that is the Central Intelligence Agency's—EB) policy lines on any territorial questions and historical topics of particular importance only to the given national audience."

For example "RL's Armenian broadcasts" purport to defend the Armenian language against "Russification," supports "indigenous efforts for purification of the language," recognizes that "all languages incorporate words from other languages as part of a natural process," accepts "evolutionary trends in the Armenian language," but desists from setting itself up as an "arbiter of good Armenian language or leading the 'campaign for purification of the Armenian language.'"

"The main emphasis of the (CIA's—EB) Armenian Service is on the right of the Armenian people to use and develop their language," to determine, "through changes in accepted usage . . . the kind of Armenian language they prefer."

This tortuous policy does not arise out of concern by the CIA for the purity or the natural evolution of the Armenian language. It is intended rather to stimulate Armenian nationalism around the question of language, but not to do it so violently and antagonistically as to alienate the Soviet Armenian people whom they are trying to subvert.

The subtle touch is indicated in a program of Radio Liberty's Ukrainian-Byelorussian service in October, 1971, alleging that the Soviet regime "has allowed pre-1917 national monuments in Byelorussia to fall into disrepair, while allocating resources for preserving those of the Bolshevik period."

The CIA is promoting the nationalism angle, also in the arena of semizdat, that is, the reproduction of literature in mimeograph, hectograph, carbon-copy and other 'underground' devices, including handwritten copies. RL's Ukrainian broadcasts have been a major vehicle of this nationalist samizbat.

The CIA is interested neither in a people's language, nor their national culture but in anti-Soviet "political overtones."

In its broadcasts RL attempts to create an anti-Soviet front regardless of origins, "stressing the need for common cause with Russian dissenters and other oppositional elements in its non-Russian broadcasts."

While decrying the Russian language in its broadcasts to the other Soviet nationalities, Radio Liberty broadcasts in Russian not only for Russians but because "the Russian language is the lingua franca of the Soviet Union spoken and understood not only by the Great Russians but also by many of the other nationalities."

The CIA's nationalistic stance in respect to languages is totally unprincipled and, of course, unscrupulous, twisting the issue whichever way will suit its disruptive purposes best.

In the murky waters of nationalism, the CIA casts a benign eye on even Great Russian chauvinism, on one hand, and Europeanization, on the other, promoting impartially what Radio Liberty calls the "historic conflict between Slavophiles and Westernizers."

Radio Liberty has had problems in promoting non-Russian nationalism since, as the Library of Congress study on RL reports, it "has been a major vehicle of Russian chauvinists."

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# Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100070001-5

## Radio Liberty's pragmatic approach to ideology: lie



By ERIK BERT

The Central Intelligence Agency plays a cautious game with ideology, and ideological struggle, in dealing with the socialist world.

For example, Radio Liberty, CIA's Soviet-oriented broadcasting system, uses the formula, "ideological irrelevance of Marxism-Leninism." That is one of the "practical themes" in the "immediate objectives" which RL pursues "within the larger framework of goals and purposes." That's the way it's put in the Library Congress study of Radio Liberty.

Marxism-Leninism is the embracing ideological superstructure of the socialist nations. It is an instrument for political, economic and social development.

The CIA considers it the better part of discretion, generally, to avoid a philosophical confrontation on this level. For one thing, what competing package would it pick, from philosophical wares offered in capitalism's ideology shop?

For another thing, the experiences of the Czechoslovak Spring in 1968 suggested that there are better alternatives. The socialism-with-a-human-face slogan proved to be very useful, in encouraging anti-Sovietism—in the name of socialism. The Prague experience showed that a section of intellectuals in the socialist world are suckers for empty declamation.

Under 'normal' circumstances, the CIA's Radio Liberty "as a matter of policy . . . accepts all Soviet institutions though not its ideology."

Radio Liberty's 1965 Policy Manual . . . states its "immediate objectives:"

"To undermine Communist ideology, showing that it does not promote the welfare of the peoples of the USSR, and to show, that history points toward progress in freedom of all peoples."

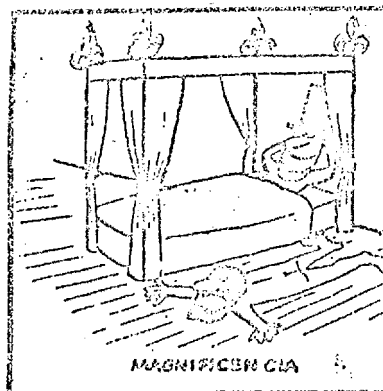
"Progress in freedom of all peoples" is not the program, of course, that the CIA has practiced in Vietnam, in Laos, or Cambodia. There the emphasis has been on assassination.

The Policy Manual's proposal "to encourage cultural diversity and freedom of exchange of ideas and travel" has also not been carried out by the CIA in Indochina.

The CIA's own "philosophy" might be described as pragmatism or practicalism. It does not even stick to the "principled" position that Marxism-Leninism is "irrelevant."

A different posture is adopted in the "cross reporting" format of Radio Free Europe. Under "cross reporting" technique Radio Free Europe reports "to each (socialist) country, developments in other East European countries, the USSR, and among Communist parties in the rest of the world."

The CIA presents its ideas "in



a context which implies that they are ideologically defensible." That is, the CIA's propaganda is presented here as not alien to Marxism-Leninism.

It is presented as "politically practicable (at least in the eyes of one Communist leadership)" — against another Communist Party leadership. The CIA seeks to "create hope and interest in the possibility of change." Finally, it "emphasize(s) what East Europeans have in common apart from (and in contrast to) the Soviet Union."

RL has a "philosophical approach." It "appeals to rationalism." It would have Soviet citizens believe that its "rational approach" seeks to overcome the "monopoly over communications," whereas, what it has in mind, is warfare against Marxism-Leninism, and the political line of the Soviet Communist Party.

Radio Free Europe, the CIA broadcasting operation aimed at Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania, has pursued the campaign against Marxism-Leninism in the guise of a defense of scientific advance.

The "campaign for ideological purity" in "socialist societies" has "always proven a hindrance to the improvement of living standards in keeping with the possibilities now available through technology," the Library of Congress study of RFE says.

The broadcasts beamed at Bulgaria for example, concentrated on the following:

"The need for more freedom of information in Bulgaria."

"The need for less emphasis on ideological conformity and more on technical proficiency as job assignment and promotion criteria."

The target is in fact Marxism-Leninism, the underlying philosophy of the Communist parties, and of the socialist states.

The attempt to undermine Marxism-Leninism is undertaken indirectly. The attack is carried on by decrying agreement with Marxism-Leninism as "conformity," but even that is treated gingerly, RFE-CIA recommends "emphasis" on such "conformity."

STATINTL

continued



*International*

## Radio Liberty unplugs a sewer

By ERIK BERT

Radio Liberty, the Central Intelligence Agency's anti-Soviet broadcast operation, has a theme song "that identifies the station," the Library of Congress study of RL reports.

It is "played in various rhythms and styles depending on the show." The "theme is taken from 'Hymn to Free Russia' written by Grechaniov... between the March democratic revolution and the November Bolshevik Revolution of 1917."

This period, which the Library of Congress depicts as one of "evolving democracy," was the period when the Kerensky regime sacrificed hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers to keep the Allied side going in the imperialist conflict with the Central Powers.

The 'Hymn to Free Russia,' to capitalist Russia, was superseded by the 'International,' Kerensky by the Bolsheviks and war by peace.

The first action taken by the Soviet government, the day after the revolution, was the Decree on Peace. Lenin was its author.

Music is not the main dish, however, on Radio Liberty. That spot is occupied by samizdat, the works of so-called 'dissidents' reproduced by typewriter or mimeo machine, or otherwise, and distributed by hand in the Soviet Union. The main subscribers are Western newsmen.

Samizdat is not uniform in quality. The Library of Congress study cites "the case of a samizdat document from multiple groups in the Soviet Union that had a strong fascist flavor."

Radio Liberty's Program Policy Division in Munich "felt that this (fascist-EB) document should be broadcast in keeping with RL's principle of giving all views."

"However, some RL staff argued against using it because of the profound negative feelings among the Soviet people arising from their wartime experiences. To broadcast such extremist (fascist-EB) views, they felt, would be counterproductive."

The Program Policy Division conceded, and the idea of using

the (fascist-EB) document was shelved."

It might also have had some "counterproductive" effects among Radio Liberty's other collaborators. These champions of "freedom" might have balked at sharing RL's services with the fascists who had slain 20 million Soviet people.

The recurrence to the past became a problem on one occasion. A Radio Liberty author, "comparing humanitarian aspects of the monarchy of old Russia and the Soviet regime... touched," in the words of the Library of Congress, "on a very delicate subject," the "humanitarian aspect" of Czarist Russia.

Radio Liberty decided that it "should not play the role of defender of the old (Czarist-EB) regime..."

"Action was taken and appropriate changes in the text were effected prior to broadcast," so that RL would not be presented to the Soviet audience as a defender of the Czarist regime.

Francis S. Ronalds, deputy to the executive director of Radio Liberty, is quoted by the Library of Congress as saying that "there is 'no question that RL is playing (an) essential role in giving the publicity that samizdat needs and that the democratic forces need.'"

The full truth is something else again, as Ronalds discloses.

"What is happening," he said, "is that themes plugged for the past three years are now turning up in samizdat."

That is, the "themes plugged for the past three years" by the CIA over Radio Liberty have been inscribed in one form or another in samizdat, the samizdat is smuggled to Munich, whence the CIA's Radio Liberty broadcasts it to the Soviet Union as "thoughts of the Soviet people themselves," which have not been "filtered essentially through the minds of outsiders" but whose "'purity' of thoughtful reflection in the Soviet experience is... preserved."

The CIA is solicitous of the authors of these "thoughts," and casting samizdat works to the

Soviet Union, the CIA "carefully indicates that the broadcast is done without the knowledge of the writer. This policy is designed to protect the writers of samizdat from reprisals of the regime."

To that end, also, "RL will exert every effort to assure that its broadcasts of genuine texts or excerpts are identified or attributed on the air to reputable Western media."

RL "will always disassociate the author from RL's use of his text or excerpts... Commentary is to be made only after the text or excerpts have been broadcast; RL will not by timing or content of its broadcasts endanger an author whose position seems precarious..."

That's to remove the CIA odor from the texts, excerpts, or author.

Book-size samizdat presents a problem for the CIA. Broadcasting a book from the first to last page over Radio Liberty is a formidable task. The solution? "Now that Western commercial publishers are publishing samizdat," the "book review" technique is being used.

Samizdat has received a very good press in the U.S., so much so that some "Kremlinologists" have cautioned that its effect may not be as widespread as advertised. Thus, the Library of Congress study of Radio Liberty cites Peeter Reddaway, a "Soviet specialist" at the London School of Economics and an "expert on samizdat," as saying that "caution should temper thoughts about the widespread circulation of samizdat."

Similarly, Martin Dewhirst, British specialist on Soviet affairs on the Faculty of Slavonic Studies at Glasgow University, cites one "Arkady Belinkov, a widely read man if ever there was one," who "did not seem even to have heard of it (religious samizdat), let alone to have read it."

One would be tempted to conclude from the study that "foreign channels of communication (the press and radio)" provide "more extensive exposure to samizdat than the home market."

NBI  
3 July 1972

STATINTL

# Gift im Englischen Garten

## Vorsicht vor Schleicher

Langendorf ist, abgesehen von seiner Stellung als Public-Relations-Mann beim Sender RFE, Herausgeber und redaktioneller Leiter der „Osteuropäischen Rundschau“, die sich in Zeiten des offen geführten kalten Krieges „Hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang“ nannte, und gerade diese Funktion verschafft ihm eine Sonderstellung von außergewöhnlichem Einfluß. Einmal steht Langendorf ohne die sonst üblichen Zwischenschaltungen in direkter Verbindung mit der New-Yorker FREE-EUROPE-Zentrale; ein wesentlicher Teil der Beiträge in der „Osteuropäischen Rundschau“ entstammt der in New York redigierten Zeitschrift „East Europe“ und wird von Langendorf für den europäischen Konsum aufbereitet. Zum anderen hält er über die „Osteuropäische Rundschau“ die Fäden in der Hand, die von RFE zur westdeutschen Presse, zu Universitäten, Bibliotheken, kirchlichen Organisationen und sogenannten Ostforschungsinstituten führen, deren Vorstellungen und Urteile über die sozialistische Welt sich ausschließlich aus diesen trüben Quellen nähren. Langendorfs Publikation rühmt sich, ihren Abnehmern neben allgemein „orientierenden“ Artikeln ein exklusives Informationsmaterial bieten zu können. Es wird vom „East Europe Research & Analysis Department“ des Senders aus angeblich 900 in der Sowjetunion und den volksdemokratischen Ländern erscheinenden Publikationen, natürlich mit Hilfe von Übersetzern, setzt, zusammengebraut.

Da die „Forschungsabteilung“ von RFE unter Leitung des Engländers Cook in erster Linie „nachrichtendienstliche“ Funktionen ausübt und zum Apparat der CIA gehört, steht Langendorf auf diese Weise mit dem Herzstück des Senders in engster Verbindung.

Hinzuweisen wäre außerdem noch auf eine weitere Funktion, die der vielbeschäftigte Langendorf ausübt. Er ist Vorsitzender der Vereinigung der Auslandskorrespondenten. In dieser Eigenschaft hält er engen Kontakt mit den Vertretern der großen ausländischen Zeitungen und Nachrichtenagenturen sowie mit den Berichterstattem westdeutscher Zeitungen. Ganz offen wird davon gesprochen, daß Langendorf bei der Lancierung von Nachrichten nicht nur großes Geschick, sondern auch eine bemerkenswerte Freigebigkeit beweist. Deutlicher gesagt, daß er die „Gefälligkeiten“ einiger seiner Kollegen von der ausländischen und BRD-Presse mitbarer Münze honoriert. Auch heißt es, daß er unter dem recht passend gewählten Pseudonym „Schleicher“ selbstverfaßte Artikel zur Aufhellung des RFE-Images in großen BRD-Blättern vom Typ der „Süddeutschen Zeitung“ auf Grund dieser herzlichen Beziehungen unterzubringen verstanden hat.

## Gheimwaffe: Kultur

Sozusagen als Nebenprodukt der „Osteuropäischen Rundschau“ bringt

RFE unter Leitung von Langendorf einen Nachrichten- und Feature-Service heraus, der wiederum von dem „West European Advisory Committee“ angeleitet wird. Dieser Dienst, der täglich in deutscher, französischer, englischer, holländischer und italienischer Ausgabe erscheint, geht der Tagespresse in den jeweiligen westeuropäischen Ländern gratis zu. Das versetzt das Büro Langendorf in die Lage, seine zwielichtige Tätigkeit über die BRD-Grenzen hinaus auszudehnen.

Als aussichtsreichste Methode, sich Gehör bei einer gewissen Schicht von Intelligenzleuten zu verschaffen, hat Langendorf das Gespräch über Fragen der Kultur gewählt. In den Dienst der ideologischen Diversion hat er das sogenannte Europa-Kolleg in Brügge und das „Europäische Kulturzentrum“ in Genf eingespannt, welche RFE mit ständigen Sende-reihen versorgen. Darin wird die „Einheit der abendländischen Kultur“ im Gegensatz zu den „russischen Traditionen“ gepredigt, die kulturelle Zugehörigkeit der osteuropäischen Länder zum gesamteuropäischen Kulturkreis unterstrichen und eine kulturelle Renaissance im Zeichen der „Vereinigten Staaten von Europa“ in Aussicht gestellt.

Unter diesem Aspekt, wenn auch wesentlich konkreter, ist eine Liaison zwischen RFE und dem Pariser Maison Lafitte entstanden, das sich als polnisches „liberales Emigrantenzentrum für den politischen Austausch“ bezeichnet und unter dem beherrschenden Einfluß eines gewissen Giedroyc steht, der vor dem Krieg in der Abwehrabteilung der reaktionär-polnischen Armee arbeitete, nach

continued

der Befreiung Polens 1945 nach Paris flüchtete und dort eine wild anti-sowjetische Publikation, „Wschod“ mit Namen, herausgibt.

## Flugblätter in Zigaretten

Maison Lafitte verlegt eine Zeitschrift, „Kultura“ genannt, die sich so präzise den subversiven Intentionen der Langendorf und Kumpene einfügt, daß die RFE-Zentrale in München jeweils die Hälfte der Auflage aufkauft und auf Schmugglerpfaden über die polnische Grenze zu bringen versucht. Ein „Kultura“-beigelegtes Flugblatt, von derselben Emigrantengruppe entworfen, wurde, in vielen tausend Exemplaren in Zigaretten eingerollt, durch „Free-Europe“-Agenten nach Volkspolen geschmuggelt. Es entspricht durchaus den betrügerischen Methoden „Free Europe's“, dieses in Paris verfaßte Flugblatt als „Willensäußerung der polnischen Kulturschaffenden“ über den Münchner Sender in die sozialistischen Länder zu strahlen.

Gerade an dem Fall Maison Lafitte läßt sich erneut der geradezu nahtlose Übergang von ideologischer Diversion in handfeste Spionagetätigkeit nachweisen. In ständiger Verbindung mit entsprechenden Stellen in München hat Maison Lafitte auch versucht, einen „Kurier“-dienst nach Polen einzurichten und dort Agentengruppen aufzubauen. Kontaktmänner versuchen besonders labile Studenten mit der Zusicherung, ihnen Studienplätze an amerikanischen Univer-

sitäten zu verschaffen, für ihre finsternen Pläne zu ködern. Außerdem machen sie sich an Schriftsteller, Film- und Bühnenschaffende heran, denen sie buchstäblich goldene Berge versprechen, falls sie sich entschließen sollten, der sozialistischen Heimat den Rücken zu kehren.

Allerdings, einem Teil der amerikanischen Monopolherren, die ein paar hunderttausend Dollar an den „Free Europe“-Fonds zu überweisen pflegen, paßt das nicht. Bei ihren zahlreichen Stipvisiten in München vertreten sie immer wieder die Meinung, daß man statt des ganzen „Linksgequassels“ handfeste, harte Propaganda senden und die Programme immer wieder durch Werbespots für Coca-Cola, Colgate Zahn-

paste und andere bekannte Markenartikel aufhellen sollte.

## Aus wessen Tasche?

Auf dem Firmenschild am Eingang des RFE-Gebäudes, Englischer Garten Nr. 1, steht unter der Zeile RADIO FREIES EUROPA in sehr viel bescheidenerer Ausführung zu lesen: „Diese Stimme der Freiheit wurde ermöglicht durch die Zuwendungen von 16 Millionen Amerikanern für den Kreuzzug der Freiheit im Jahre 1950.“ Das ist natürlich ein Witz, auf den allerdings viele gedankenlose und politisch naive Menschen hereingefallen sind. Zwar stimmt es, daß der abenteuerlichste unter den antikommunistischen Sabelcasslern, General Lucius D. Clay, gleich nach seiner Ablösung von dem Berliner Posten durch die Weiten der amerikanischen Staaten zog, in der einen Hand eine Nachbildung der von ihm ausgeheckten Schöneberger „Freiheits“-bimmel und in der anderen den Klingelbeutel. Zweifellos hat sein Redeschwall viele seiner Zuhörer hingerissen, ein Scherflein für den „Kreuzzug“ beizusteuern. Aber das ist der Cent, woher kommt der Dollar?

Unbestreitbar ist ebenfalls, daß die milliardenschweren Herren, die sich in „Free Europe Incorporated“ zu-

## Lesermeinungen zu

## Gift im Englischen Garten

### Sammler-Vorschlag

Ich sammle mit großem Interesse die Tatsachen-Serien wie „Feuerball“ und jetzt das „Gift im Englischen Garten“. Diese Serien umfassen jeweils zwei Seiten, die aber leider auf zwei Blätter gedruckt sind. Zum Sammeln wären aber 2 Seiten auf 1 Blatt besser.

Jürgen Gottschlich, 8122 Radebeul

Die Redaktion überprüft die typographisch-technischen Möglichkeiten.

## Eine Ergänzung

Der NBI ein Lob. Nach der Tatsachenfolge „Der Feuerball“ finde ich Georg Honigmanns „Gift“ sehr aufschlußreich dafür, mit welchen Methoden die CIA und ihre Organe wühlen, um die Entwicklung im Sozialismus aufzuhalten und rückgängig zu machen. „Gift“ ist eine Ergänzung zum „Feuerball“.

Karl Handke, 86 Bautzen

## Gefährliche Giftspritze

Das Gift aus dem Englischen Garten dient dazu, die sozialistischen Länder zu beschimpfen und zu verfeinden. Damit wollen nicht nur der Hetzsender RFE, sondern auch die anderen Spionagesender des USA-Imperialismus in der BRD, wie Radio Liberty, Rias und Voice of Amerika in Germany, die Lehre des Marxismus-Leninismus bekämpfen, raffiniert verfälschen und die Werkstätten von der Politik der kommunistischen Parteien isolieren.

Im Hauptdokument der Kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien wurde zu Recht darauf hingewiesen, die verbrecherische Politik der Imperialisten verstärkt zu entlarven und ständig die Wachsamkeit der Öffentlichkeit gegenüber den Diversions-Plänen der Imperialisten zu erhöhen.

Dr. Günter Ebersbach, 8122 Dresden

sammenfanden, tief in die Tasche gegriffen haben. Das tat ihnen nicht weh, und es gehört zur Routine der Reichen und der Superreichen in den USA, mittels Spenden an Stiftungen und „gemeinnützige“ Institutionen ihre Steuererklärungen zu frisieren. Das ist ein ausgezeichnetes Geschäft, das ihnen ein Vielfaches dessen einbringt, was die „patriotische“ Geste kostet. Aber auch die paar Millionen Dollar, die auf diese Weise zusammenkommen, machen den Kohl nicht fett. Heute gibt es kein Rätselraten mehr darüber, wer der große Unbekannte ist, der Aufbau, Wartung und Programme der größten und stärksten Sendeanlagen Europas und alles, was damit zusammenhängt, finanziert. Es ist die Central Intelligence Agency, die blutbesudelte, in aller Welt verhasste, vor keinem Verbrechen zurückschreckende CIA.

## Richardson funkte SOS

Indizien dafür, daß die auch heute noch krampfhaft aufrechterhaltene Behauptung, „Free Europe“ sei ein privates, unabhängiges Unternehmen, ein aufgelegter Schwindel ist, gab es in Fülle, seitdem 1950 in Tag- und Nachtschichten unter Einsatz Hunderter US-Soldaten der imposante Gebäudekomplex im Münchner Englischen Garten ohne Rücksicht auf Kosten und Materialien aus der Erde gestampft wurde. In den USA selbst gab es von Anfang an eine Gruppe progressiver Politiker, die die Tätigkeit der Organisation „Free Europe“ und ihrer Hintermänner mit Mißtrauen verfolgten und die Frage aufwarfen, von welcher Seite die Subventionen für dieses fragwürdige Unternehmen stammten. Die Kritik am Sender RFE schwoll Mitte der sechziger Jahre derart an, daß der damalige Aufsichtsratsvorsitzende von Free Europe Incorporated, der bereits mehrfach erwähnte John Richardson jr., um den Fortbestand von RFE und seiner Gliederungen zittern mußte. Schon damals war es kein Geheimnis mehr, daß die CIA bei der Gründung des Senders Pate gestanden hatte und seitdem als wichtigster Geldgeber in Erscheinung trat. Ganz unbefangen hatte die „New York Times“ (in ihrer Ausgabe vom 28. 4. 1966) geschrieben: „In München unterstützt die CIA verschiedene Forschungsgruppen und solche wichtigen Propagandakanäle wie Radio Free Europe, das Programme nach Osteuropa ausstrahlt.“ In seiner Bedrängnis appellierte Richardson an den erzreaktionären Senator Eastland aus Mississippi, einem ehemaligen Komplizen des Hexenjähgers Joseph McCarthy und zur betreffenden Zeit Vorsitzender des „Ausschusses für innere Sicherheit“, alles zu unternehmen, um den Sender zu retten. Denn „Free Europe“ – so hieß es in seinem Schreiben an Eastland – „ist in Friedenszeiten das einzige Mittel, mit dem man die strategisch wichtigen Länder Osteuropas erreichen und beeinflussen kann.“

Senator Eastland enttäuschte nicht die in ihn gesetzten Erwartungen. Noch am selben Tag, an dem er Richardsons Brief erhielt (am 17. 11. 1967),

Lyndon B. Johnson: „Es ist unsere wohlhabende Meinung“ – ließ er Johnson wissen –, „daß die Einstellung der Sendetätigkeit einen großen Propagandasieg für die UdSSR bedeuten würde. Die Auswirkungen würden sich innerhalb und außerhalb des kommunistischen Blocks sehr bald bemerkbar machen.“

Schon wenige Tage darauf konnte Richardson dem Senator seine Dankbarkeit für dessen erfolgreiche Intervention bezeugen.

### Nachtrag

ADN meldet: Washington. Der Bewilligungsausschuß des amerikanischen Repräsentantenhauses hat beschlossen, für die beiden in München stationierten Hetzsender RADIO FREE EUROPE und RADIO LIBERTY weitere 38,5 Millionen Dollar bereitzustellen.  
(ND vom 17. 5. 1972)

### ENDE



→ Rühren alles ein:  
CIA (Foto: CIA-Chef  
Helms), Pentagon  
und Weißes Haus,  
was RADIO FREE  
EUROPE  
in den Äther spuckt.



Niemehr  
durch Mundgeruch  
getrennt



↑ Direkte Putsch-  
aufrufe (Foto:  
RFE-Sprecher vor  
„Operationskarte“)

→ Hetzbroschüren

← Harmlos verklei-  
sterte Geld-  
geber-Reklame

Radio Free Europe

**CURTAIN NEWS**

IN THIS ISSUE:

East Bloc Reaction to  
Young Men's Movement  
Prisoners of War  
Low Quality - High Price

# Gift im Englischen Garten

## Ausgesuchte Objekte

Unter dem Einfluß dieses ganz im Schatten von Pentagon, CIA und dem NATO-Hauptquartier stehenden westeuropäischen Beratungsausschusses hat RFE den Frontalangriff auf das sozialistische Lager abgeblasen und ist dazu übergegangen, das Feuer der psychologischen Kriegsführung immer wieder auf ausgesuchte Objekte zu konzentrieren.

Trotz dieser Selbstbescheidung kennzeichnete Resignation den Grundtenor der im Frühjahr 1961 abgehaltenen WEAC-Tagung, die sich mit der künftigen Strategie und Taktik FREE EUROPE's befaßte. Man könne mit Teilerfolgen höchstens „in der sehr weiten Zukunft“ rechnen, denn „weder die inneren noch die äußeren Komponenten“ – so stellte man damals fest – „sind für einen Wandel im internationalen Geschehen gegeben“. Also bleibt nichts übrig, als auf der Stelle zu treten. Diese Auslassungen sind in mehrfacher Hinsicht außerordentlich bemerkenswert: erstens, weil solche Überlegungen auf einer relativ realistischen Einschätzung des internationalen Kräfteverhältnisses beruhen; zweitens, weil daraus hervorgeht, daß der RFE-Führungsstab nunmehr den Hauptstoß seiner ideologischen Diversion auf eine ausgesuchte, zahlenmäßig kleine Gruppe in dem betreffenden Land richtet; drittens, weil sich daraus ergibt, daß RFE künftig auch von einer „ultralinken“ Position aus operiert und als eine wichtige Aufgabe betrachtet, die als „wahre“, „bessere“ „sozialistische“ Diversion sich gebärdenden Kapitalan-

ten mit agitatorischer Munition zu beliefern (der Formulierung eines „Aktionsprogramms“ ist dabei eine wichtige Rolle zugedacht – und diese hat sie dann während der konterrevolutionären Ereignisse des Jahres 1968 in der CSSR auch tatsächlich gespielt); viertens, weil die wichtigste Funktion von RFE ganz offen beim richtigen Namen genannt wird; nämlich, einen festen Kontakt mit politischen Abenteurern, Opportunisten und Überläufern herzustellen und aufrechtzuerhalten, auf die man sich bei der Vorbereitung eines konterrevolutionären Putsches verlassen zu können und die sich ihrerseits auf Gedeih und Verderb an den amerikanischen Imperialismus verkauft haben.

## Des Pudels Kern

Selbstverständlich fließt der Strom von Kommunikationen in zwei Richtungen: RFE tritt nicht nur als Lieferant von subversivem Propaganda- und Agitationsmaterial und als Dirigent umstürzlerischer Aktivitäten auf; RFE ist zugleich Empfänger von Informationen und Mitteilungen darüber, wo sich nach Ansicht ihrer Agenten im fraglichen Gebiet Anknüpfungspunkte bieten. In dieser Weise stellt RFE eines der wichtigsten Zentren geheimdienstlicher Betätigung im globalen System der CIA dar. Sehr treffend bemerkte der polnische Kundschafter Hauptmann Czechowicz nach seiner Rückkehr in die Heimat auf einer internationalen Pressekonferenz: „Spionagedienst ist ideologische Diversion und die Spio-

nagetätigkeit sind so eng miteinander verbunden, daß es nicht möglich ist, die eine von der anderen zu trennen.“

Nicht weniger aufschlußreich ist, was auf der Tagung der WEAC John Richardson jr. – zu diesem Zeitpunkt Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrates von Free Europe Incorporated – über die Funktion der Münchner Sendezentrale in der Aera des „Brückenschlags“ zu sagen hatte: „Das Bauen von Brücken nach Osteuropa ist kein Selbstzweck“, erklärte er, „sondern ein Mittel zur Beeinflussung einer konstruktiven (!) politischen Änderung in Osteuropa. Dieser Veränderungsprozeß schließt umwälzende Ereignisse (!) nicht aus.“

Offensichtlich hatte Mr. Richardson jr. bereits zu jenem Zeitpunkt – 1965 – die Möglichkeit solcher, wie er es nennt, „konstruktiver Veränderungen“ in der CSSR ins Auge gefaßt und als die aussichtsreichste Taktik zur Realisierung dieses Ziels die Propagierung und Popularisierung „linker“ und „rechter“ Abweichungen von der marxistisch-leninistischen Generallinie erkannt.

„Abweichungen vom Marxismus-Leninismus“, so erklärte er wörtlich, „führen dazu, daß sie selbst dynamischer werden und, indem sie auf altergebrachte Interessen lokaler Gruppen sich stützen, selbst fortbestehen wollen und institutionelle Formen erlangen. Während die Grundlagen der kommunistischen Herrschaft unberührt bleiben, erlauben qualitative Veränderungen in den Methoden der kommunistischen Herrschaft es andersdenkenden Menschen, stärker zu werden und die Autorität der zentralen Organe der Partei zu schwächen.“

Selbst ein Blinder muß erkennen, daß der Führungsstab von „Free Europe“ mit dieser Aufgabenstellung den Weg markierte, auf dem sich drei Jahre später die „tschechischen Reformer“, wie sie RFE zu nennen beliebt, begeben haben. Ihre Absicht dabei war, wie Mr. Richardson jr. völlig klar sah, sehr bald die Oberhand zu gewinnen und als erstes die „kommunistische Herrschaft“ zu liquidieren.



## Entspannung - so oder so?

John Richardsons Darlegungen auf der WEAC-Beratung im Jahre 1965 gelten auch heute noch als verbindliche Direktive. Das beweist eine Anfang 1971 veröffentlichte hausinterne Broschüre der Münchner Zentrale, in der es einleitend heißt: „RFE ist die größte Unterabteilung von Free Europe Incorporated, die es sich zum Ziel gesetzt hat, die friedliche Revolution in Richtung auf größere innere Freiheiten der kommunistisch beherrschten Völker Osteuropas zu fördern. Free Europe ist sich der entscheidenden strategischen und politischen Bedeutung Osteuropas bewußt. Die zukünftige politische Färbung dieser Länder ist daher für die freie Welt von ungeheurer Bedeutung.“

So erklärte der aus Minnesota gebürtige RFE-Direktor Ralph E. Walter, der seit 1951 Free Europe Incorporated in leitenden Stellungen diente und Ende 1968 zum Direktor des Münchner Hauptquartiers ernannt wurde: „Für uns bedeutet Entspannung nicht einfach ein Einfrieren des Status quo.“ (Zitiert nach „Washington Post“ vom 22. November 1970)

Seine Gedankengänge decken sich vollständig mit den Auffassungen des bekannten antikommunistischen Theoretikers der US-Globalstrategie Zbigniew Brzezinski, wie er sie in einem Grundsatzartikel in „Newsweek“ (vom 4. Januar 1971) formulierte. Auch Brzezinski, der zum Stab ständiger Berater von „Free Europe“ gehört, unterstreicht, daß Entspannung unter keinen Umständen ein Einfrieren des Status quo in Osteuropa bedeuten dürfe, und visiert als Ziel „eine fortschreitende Umwandlung der östlichen Regime in etwas, was der Sozialdemokratie nahekommt“ an.

## In gewisser Langendorf

Die verschiedenen Wendungen und Verwandlungen, die die Politik der Münchner Zentrale durchmachte, hatten zahlreiche Wechsel in der Leitung des Senders zur Folge. Allein nach der monströsen Niederlage, die RFE nach dem Zusammenbruch der ungarischen Revolution erlitt, wurden drei Direktoren und

13 redaktionelle Mitarbeiter gefeuert, als daß sie den Weisungen der New-Yorker Leitstelle getreulich gefolgt waren.

Ein Mann jedoch hat es verstanden, allen Stürmen zu trotzen und seine Position ständig auszubauen. Es ist der Deutschamerikaner Ernest Langendorf, der heute den Titel eines „Direktors des Büros für deutsche Angelegenheiten in der Abteilung öffentliche Arbeit von RFE“ führt und dessen Grundsatzerklärung zur Arbeit des Senders bereits zitiert wurde.

Langendorf, hager, groß, selbstgewählte Berufsbezeichnung Journalist, gibt sich gern als „neuer Linker“ mit weitverzweigten Verbindungen zu den namhaftesten westlichen Intellektuellen, die – einig in ihrer antikommunistischen Haltung – verschiedene aus Maoismus, Trotzismus und anderen Elementen gemischte, konfuse, aber gefährliche Strömungen vertreten.

Nach Darstellung informierter Kreise hat sich Langendorf während des opfervollen Kampfes des spanischen Volkes gegen die Franco-Clique in Barcelona aufgehalten. Er stand dort in Verbindung zur trotzkistisch-anarchistischen POUM-Gruppe, die die Bemühungen der Volkskräfte um einheitlichen Kampf gegen die Franco-Marodeure schwer behinderte und den Faschisten praktisch in die Hände spielte. Vor dem zweiten Weltkrieg emigrierte er dann nach den USA. Dort bespitzelte er im Auftrag der Abteilung „Ausländer-Überwachung“ des FBI antifaschistische deutsche Emigranten und denunzierte eine Anzahl von ihnen als „kommunistenverdächtig“. Später trat er in die US-Armee ein, wurde schnell befördert und gelangte – im Range eines Captains – am 30. April 1945 mit den Vorausabteilungen der Heeresgruppe General Pattons nach München. Am Ende seiner siebenjährigen Tätigkeit, zuerst als Redakteur der amerikanischen „Neuen Zeitung“, dann als Pressereferent der Militärregierung verantwortlich für die Lizenzvergabe an genehme bayrische Bewerber, bescheinigten ihm seine Arbeitsgeber im US-Hochkommissariat, daß er sich „beispielhaft für die Interessen der amerikanischen Politik eingesetzt“ habe. Kein Zweifel besteht darüber, daß er seine beispielhaften Leistungen in enger Anlehnung an FBI und CIA vollbracht hat und weiterhin vollbringt.

Im OMGUS und im Hochkommissariat führte ihn der Weg schnurstracks

zu RFE. Zu rechter Blüte jedoch kam in den sechziger Jahren von der Politik des „roll back“ zur „Politik des Brückenschlags“ hinüberwechselte und er damit in die Lage versetzt wurde, seine alten und über die Jahre aufrechterhaltenen Verbindungen zur intellektuellen „Linken“ ins Spiel zu bringen.

Langendorf hat den Klüngel der antisowjetischen und antikommunistischen Schreiber in aller Welt als ständige Mitarbeiter für die RFE-Sendungen „talking to Eastern Europe“ gewonnen: Arthur Köstler, Ignazio Silone, John Strachey, Leonard Schapiro, Margarete Buber-Neumann und Salvadore Maderiaga, der noch 1961 in einem Buch „Der Westen: Heer ohne Banner“ ernsthaft den Vorschlag machte, einen „politischen Generalstab des kalten Krieges“ ins Leben zu rufen.

## In einem Boot mit Hupka

Auf Langendorf ist es auch zurückzuführen, daß es zu einer Verständigung und Zusammenarbeit zwischen RFE und den revanchistischen Landsmannschaften und „Vertriebenen“-organisationen gekommen ist. Ursprünglich hatten die Revanchistenverbände RFE heftig ins Feuer genommen, weil es die Frage der „Volksdeutschen“ bewußt umgangen

hatte. Langendorf konnte aber die Führer der Landsmannschaften und des BHV, den inzwischen verstorbenen Seeböhm, einen Becher und Hupka, schließlich doch davon überzeugen, daß die von „Free Europe“ verfolgte Linie der Aufweichung der sozialistischen Staaten von innen in letzter Konsequenz auch zu territorialer Revision führen würde. Die in München erscheinende „Sudeten-deutsche Zeitung“ (in ihrer Ausgabe vom 30. 6. 1971) konnte sodann feststellen: „Wir sind uns auch klar darüber, daß wir in einem Boot mit den Männern von ‚Free Europe‘ sitzen.“

\* OMGUS: Abkürzung für  
Amerikanische Militärregierung  
in Deutschland

**L** Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100070001-5  
 Lesen Sie  
 im nächsten Heft:

- o Vorsicht vor Schleicher
- o „Geheimwaffe“ Kultur
- o Richardson funkt SOS



Drei Mann in einem Boot: Trotz aller Niederlagen versuchen sie sich weiter durchzuschaukeln – Ernst Langendorf, Becher und Hupka (v. l. n. r.).



Denkt nur in „theoretischen Kategorien“ von Putsch, blutiger Konterrevolution und schleichender Diversion: „Global“-Strategie Zbigniew Brzezinski als Berater von RFE.

**Wer ist wer?**

**Wer ist wo?**

### Bridges to East Europe

#### SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF 1954

New Directors: Ambassador Livingston T. Merchant, James Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and The Hon. Frank Pace, Jr., former Secretary of the Army and Director of the Bureau of the Budget, joined FEC's Board of Directors in November 1954.

Stronger Broadcast Signals: Four 250-kilowatt shortwave transmitters went into service at Radio Free Europe's Pittsburgh base.

Increased RFE Programming: Daily broadcasting to Europe and Belgium was stepped up from five hours to seven and a half, with many new program features.

years of 1951-1952, an active Director from the Committee's founding until his death, and an adviser valued equally for his wisdom and his dynamic spirit.

Of course, bridges are fragile structures in the face of political storms. We have no assurance that East Europe's rulers, faced by the inevitable deterioration of their system, may not try to rebuild the socialist practices they have discarded. If so, these first efforts will be, metaphorically, to "blow the bridges."

We are confident this can be prevented by the same force which made "bridges" possible in the first place: the concerted presence of free men of Europe and the West who share these aspirations for material progress, individual self-expression and national self-determination.

A bridge irresistibly joins with Americans and other free peoples. We must meet East Europe's here in the West with understanding and skill as well as with energy and good will. We must go beyond the reporting of how these conditions are being "presented of freedom" in East Europe and of which its people can begin to fashion their own open societies.

The task, in short, has only begun.

*John Richardson, Jr.*  
 John Richardson, Jr.

We see the year just completed as a critical turning point in the history of the Communist world. Here, due at any time since 1956, when Hungarians showed that the human spirit, whatever the odds against it, cannot be suppressed. Soviet authority over East Europe shattered and rising demands for change were led by local Communist regimes.

In most East European countries there were concessions to the pressure of public dissatisfaction, to some, divided intellectuals and youth openly criticized bureaucratic control. In Rumania the leadership was moved to bid openly for closer relations with the West. In Czechoslovakia consumer dissatisfaction finally forced the regime to adopt a revolutionary "free economic model." For many Communist satellites, as well as for people generally, the West rather than Moscow emerged as the source of progressive ideas in social, cultural and economic development.

A major Western response has begun. In President Johnson's words, 1954 was the year of "building bridges."

For the Free Europe Committee, bridging East and West is no novelty. To surround the Iron Curtain system with a web of concern and information and hope open to East Europeans has been the essence of FEC's effort since 1949. Radio Free Europe has served as a major channel of communication between the West and these brave peoples, effective especially because it speaks in their voice about their problems and aspirations.

Western ideas, Western creative energy, Western experience will continue to contribute toward a new, open society in East Europe if they can be communicated in such a way as to interact effectively with the ideas and aspirations of these still oppressed peoples.

This kind of communication has been Free Europe Committee's special concern for many years. It has resulted in a spiritual and intellectual bridgehead upon which we and others may now build, ever more firmly.

To meet new opportunities, there has been a steady growth in the capabilities of Radio Free Europe and the Committee as a whole. A few highlights of that growth during 1954 are cited on this page. There was also one tragic loss: the death of C. D. Jackson, Vice Chairman of the Free Europe Committee's Board of Directors, President of FEC in the critical formative

Ein unter schwierigen Bedingungen festgehaltenes Fotodokument: FEC-Präsident John Richardson jun. (2. v. l.) berät mit U. Alexis Johnson vom US-State Department, John C. Hughes und Sam Watson die neue Taktik der Beeinflussung „ultralinker“ und „rechter Abweichler“.

Putsch-Programm als Aufruf: Mr. Richardson möchte zu gerne die sozialistischen Staaten – nach seiner Terminologie: „Osteuropas“ mit Hilfe des RFE-Programms in „offene Gesellschaftsstrukturen“ verwandeln.

1 JUL 1972

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International

STATINTL

## Radio Liberty, starring anti-Soviet finks

By ERIK BERT

"One of the most extraordinary developments in recent years within the Soviet Union has been the emergence within of samizdat, that is, the private publication and circulation of one's own works," the Library of Congress' study of Radio Liberty says.

"Samizdat" has been lauded as a cry for freedom from out the Russian wasteland by the New York Times, by "kremlogologists" and by other exponents of freedom.

The reality is somewhat different, as the Library of Congress study shows.

Radio Liberty—the Central Intelligence Agency broadcast directed at the Soviet Union—has become a main depository for samizdat.

Foreign correspondents are "one of the major channels of the flow" of samizdat, according to Peter Reddaway, a "Soviet specialist" at the London School of Economics. This has been evident in the dispatches of the New York Times and other newspaper correspondents.

In fact, "normally, samizdat... documents are not sent specifically to RL from the Soviet Union. Most documents have been publicized elsewhere before RL gets them."

The Library of Congress study emphasizes by repetition how important samizdat has become in RL's anti-Soviet barrage and how important RL has become for the dissemination of samizdat.

The study says:

Samizdat is "presently the main staple of RL's programming."

"RL has become a prime source for uniting the disparate elements of Soviet samizdat producers... a disseminator of all forms of samizdat from both the Russians and the (Soviet) nationalities..." It is a "prime transmitter of samizdat."

Radio Liberty is a "prime beneficiary of samizdat."

In the past two years, the Library of Congress study says, "the amount of programming devoted to samizdat has increased substan-

tially," from four hours per month of "readings and discussions of samizdat materials" to 58 hours per month in the first quarter of 1971. In April 1971 RL's "Russian language services devoted six hours per week of its 36 hours of original program time" to this material.

Radio Liberty sees "intellectual dissenters" in the Soviet Union as "an audience of importance which it has cultivated in a special way." In fact, Radio Liberty "has become the prime broadcaster of works by these intellectual dissenters."

In the guise of a "public forum of free discussion, RL broadcasts their thoughts and their works back to the Soviet Union, thus enlarging in geometric proportions the potential area of international circulation.

In fact, the CIA's Radio Liberty has become "the principal source for disseminating samizdat."

"RL has become a mean of internalizing samizdat and also a means of communication among all Soviet people."

That is, Radio Liberty has become a means for directing to the Soviet Union the productions of Soviet citizens which serve its dissident, anti-socialist purposes. Samizdat is a vehicle in that communications chain.

The problem as the CIA sees it, is to "maximize the use of the (samizdat) documents in achieving RL's goals and purposes."

That should be plain enough for any Soviet "dissenter" whose works find their way into the arsenal of Radio Liberty.

Edward van der Rhoer, director of Radio Liberty's Program Policy Division says "samizdat has opened up a new dimension to RL's activity."

The most recent "phenomenon in the Soviet dissident movement," the Library of Congress study reports, is the "new form of samizdat called 'magnitizdat'... a technique of tape recording... of dissident material and circulating it within a group of friends."

Here the CIA steps in.

Radio Liberty "broadcasts back to the Soviet Union" the magni-

tizdat which has been forwarded to it.

The CIA's Radio Liberty "is able to benefit from magnitizdat by the multiple dissemination of its broadcasts." That is, RL broadcasts are, CIA hopes, taped in the Soviet Union and then passed on for further dissemination.

Among those who have "made it" on magnitizdat are Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter whose book "Twenty Letters to a Friend," on magnitizdat, was selling "on the black market" for "from 70 to 120 rubles (\$77 to \$132)."

The Library of Congress presents samizdat as a "form of self-liberalization," encouragement of "rational thought," "the enemy of Stalinism," "extending the 'horizon of thinking,'" representing the "maturation of democratic ideas within the context of the Soviet system," a "stimulant to independent thinking," the "nascent expression of a genuinely, democratically formed public

opinion," asking "basic questions. Only one thing is missing.

That this is the arsenal of Radio Liberty, prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency, for suborning treason in the Soviet Union for preparing the overthrow of the socialist Soviet system.

Radio Liberty seeks to incite nationalist anti-Soviet sentiments purporting to record the "concerns of the nationalities."

"Increasing attention has been given to the broadcasting of samizdat material in the Nationalities Service," the Library of Congress reports. It cites broadcasts in the Ukrainian, Karachai, Ossetian and Avar languages.

Some productions are run in toto. Thus Solzhenitzyn's "First Circle" was broadcast in 30-minute segments, three days a week over a five-month period.

(To be continued)





## 'Cross reporting' by the CIA's twisted lip

STATINTL

By ERIK BERT

The aim of the CIA in its operations in the socialist countries in Europe, as distinct from the Soviet Union, is to separate them as a bloc from the USSR.

That means rejecting measures which are aimed at creating controversy among them, in favor of the greater goal of opposing all of them to the Soviet Union.

That is how it was spelled out in September, 1966, by Ralph E. Walter, now director of the CIA's Radio Free Europe.

The Library of Congress outlined this tactic in the study of Radio Free Europe which it prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The study was published in the Congressional Record of March 6.

The ideological line to be promoted for separating the other socialist states from the Soviet Union is, the Library of Congress study said:

"Return Eastern Europe to Europe in the broadest sense."

The CIA means by the "broadest sense" encouraging "growing ties between East and West Europe, indeed between the East and the Atlantic community."

"The divorce of East and West has been unnatural and irrational," the CIA propagandists say. Soviet "security interests," not the interests of the other socialist nations, have been the cause of the divorce between East and West, they add.

By implication, the solidarity of the socialist camp is in the interest of Soviet "security," and not in the interest, from either a "security" or other viewpoint, of the other socialist nations.

That was the line which was propagated, with considerable success, among, and by, the revisionists in Czechoslovakia prior to 1968. The "independence" which they championed paralleled the separation from the Soviet Union that the CIA propagated.

"The growth of nationalism may lead Eastern European states to distance themselves from the Soviet Union," the RFE said. It warned that, in encour-

aging nationalism, intra-bloc conflict should be restrained.

The CIA warned that undue encouragement of nationalism could result not only in pitting "Hungarian against Russian, and Pole against Russian," but "Romanian against Hungarian, Pole against German, and Czech against Pole."

Radio Free Europe should try to replace the socialist solidarity between the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations by non-class "neighbor to neighbor" relations, promoting so-called "normal state to state relations between the Soviet Union and those countries on her Western frontiers."

The aim is the disruption of the international solidarity among the socialist states.

However, this requires care. "It would be unwise and dangerous for Western radio to advocate enmity with the Soviet Union."

The policy lines of the CIA included, as we have seen:

—Pitting the socialist countries as a bloc against the Soviet Union.

—Resisting the promotion of nationalist controversy among the socialist countries.

—Directing the socialist countries' political orientation Westward.

A further tactic was the utilization of developments in one socialist country to incite dissatisfaction in another socialist country. That was the purpose of the so-called "cross reporting" developed by CIA's Radio Free Europe.

"Cross-reporting" is the channelling, of "developments in other East European countries, the USSR, and among Communist Parties in the rest of the world," to the five countries in RFE's target range; Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania.

The purpose is to create dissension, by one means or another.

The aim, as the report puts it, is: "to create hope and interest in the possibility of change and

to emphasize what East Europeans have in common, apart from (and in contrast to) the Soviet Union."

The broadcasts directed toward Czechoslovakia sought to use the two-nation character of the CSSR, which includes Czechs and Slovaks, as a wedge for dissension. RFE-CIA charged in 1971 that not enough attention was being paid to the anniversary of Czechoslovakia's Founding Day, Oct. 28. It "quoted a book by a Yugoslav professor in Belgrade labeling Czechoslovak federalism a sham. The professor viewed current trends in Czechoslovakia as toward the strengthening of centralism and the restriction of nationalities." At the time the CIA was quoting the Yugoslav professor's book, the League of Yugoslav Communists and the Yugoslav government were rent by nationalistic disruption.

CIA's RFE "contrasted" the Heath government's "positive move in joining the Common Market," with what it falsely described as the "stalemated" economies of the socialist countries associated with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. In this, CIA-RFE opposed not only the socialist countries but the trade union movement of Britain which unanimously opposed Britain's entry into the Common Market.

As part of its continuing effort to aggravate differences in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' parties, RFE "reported a television panel show in Austria featuring prominent reform Communists who concluded that humanistic Marxism is the sole alternative to Soviet-type communism." These were the "reform Communists" who helped bring Czechoslovakia to the brink of the anti-socialist abyss.

RFE "reviewed commentary by the Italian newspaper Corriere della Sera on Romania's skillful and courageous foreign policies" which it suggested might be a "possible forerunner of current East-West development."

#27 June 1972

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016

# Gift im Englischen Garten

STATINTL

## Aufruf zum Blutvergießen

Die Kreuzfahrer der „Freiheit“ im New Yorker Hauptquartier, die Tag für Tag ihren Handlangern in München über Fernschreiber präzise Anweisungen erteilen, hielten ihre große Stunde für gekommen, als in Ungarn die gesammelte Reaktion im Oktober 1956 den blutigen Versuch unternahm, die volksdemokratische Ordnung zu stürzen. Da machte sich RADIO FREE EUROPE, das schon Monate zuvor die Unruhe im Lande geschürt und zu konterrevolutionären Provokationen gehetzt hatte, zur ideologischen und organisatorischen Leitstelle der Putschisten. Radio Free Europe setzte alles in Bewegung, um die Putschisten und einige Verführte zur Fortsetzung der aussichtslosen blutigen Konterrevolution aufzupeitschen.

Am 4. November 1956 ließ sich „Free Europe“, das vorher die Meuterer aufgefordert hatte: „Steckt Budapest in Brand!“, vernehmen: „Wenn die Ungarn noch diese Woche weiterkämpfen, dann sind wir einem dritten Weltkrieg näher als zu irgendeinem Zeitpunkt seit dem Jahre 1945“, denn, so wollte RFE seine ungarischen Hörer glauben machen, eine militärische Intervention der NATO-Mächte und die Landung amerikanischer Fallschirmbataillone stehe unmittelbar bevor. So äußerte sich das FDP-Organ „Freies Organ“ (Ausgabe vom 9. 11. 1956): „Wir sind überzeugt, daß zuerst und vor allem die aggressive Propaganda des Senders Free Europe in München ein gerüttelt Teil Schuld für das Blutbad trägt, das sich in den letzten vierzehn Tagen in Ungarn ereignet hat.“

Eine Propaganda, deren zweckbestimmte Agitation letztlich mit dem Blut irgeleiteteter Menschen bezahlt werden muß, ist ein Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit.“

## Der Bericht der alten Dame

Der Sturm der Empörung in aller Welt über RFEs gewissenlose und verbrecherische Rolle in Ungarn zwang die Regierung Adenauer, die im Juli 1955 hinter verschlossenen Türen mit dem Münchner Sender einen Lizenzvertrag abgeschlossen hatte, von dem ihr darin eingeräumten Recht der Tonbänderkontrolle Gebrauch zu machen. Wie sie das machte und mit welchem Erfolg, hätte jedem politischen Kabarett genügend Stoff zu einer bittersatirischen Szene geliefert.

Ein gewisser Herr Oncken, subalterner Beamter in Bonns Auswärtigem Amt, forderte von RFE die Tonbänder aus der fraglichen Zeit an. RFE lieferte auch bereitwillig das Material aus, insgesamt fünftausend Sendestunden (1). Mit dem Abhören dieses Wusts von Bändern wurde eine ältere Dame beauftragt, die einmal fünfzehn unbeschwerter Jahre in der Donau-Metropole verbracht und während dieser Zeit sich einige Kenntnisse der Landessprache angeeignet hatte. Drei Tage nachdem sie die Arbeit aufgenommen hatte, galten schon sechzig Sendestunden als „überprüft“.

Herr Oncken – offensichtlich ein schwacher Rechner – meinte daraufhin, daß sie den ganzen Schwung in einer Woche bewältigt haben würde. Nichts war darüber verlautet worden, ob es der Entscheidung der

zu „beanstanden“ sei und was nicht; ob es nur ihre Aufgabe sein sollte, die Texte abzutenografieren und dann zu übertragen, was vorsichtig geschätzt das Fünf- bis Sechsfache der Sendezeit ausgemacht haben würde. Im übrigen sah sich auch niemand veranlaßt, zu kontrollieren, ob die Sammlung der Bänder vollständig war oder ob noch nachträglich Korrekturen an den Bändern vorgenommen worden waren.

Das Zimmer, in dem besagte Dame arbeitete, war zu keiner Zeit des Tages oder der Nacht verschlossen. Auch nicht am Wochenende. Die Bänder lagen, wenn immer die Dame das Bedürfnis empfand, sich für einige Zeit zu entfernen, offen herum; jeder, der ein Interesse daran hatte, konnte sich ungehindert bedienen.

Dann sprach Kanzler Adenauer in einer Pressekonferenz am 26. Januar 1957 – auf Grund der Tonband-„überprüfung“ der alten Dame – „Radio Free Europe“ feierlich von jeder Schuld frei. Eine eingehende Überprüfung des Sendematerials durch das Auswärtige Amt habe keine „belastenden Momente“ ergeben, wenn auch die Sendungen von RFE „einige Redewendungen“ enthalten hätten, die – „schlechten Willen vorausgesetzt – Anlaß zu Mißdeutungen“ hätten geben können.

## Die neue Taktik „soft sell“

Free Europe ist von einem blutwütend dreinschlagenden Bombenstoß zu einem kühl berechnenden, langfristig planenden, alle Möglichkeiten und Eventualitäten einkalkulierenden Vorkämpfer an der „Vierten Front“ – der psychologischen Kriegsführung – geworden.

Für Free Europes revidierte und korrigierte Kampfformen trifft zu, was Leonid Breshnew seinerzeit auf der Internationalen Beratung der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien in Moskau 1969 feststellte: „Der Imperialismus kann nicht auf Erfolg rechnen, wenn er seine Ziele offen verkündet. Er ist gezwungen, ein ganzes System ideologischer Mythen zu schaffen, die den wahren Sinn seiner Absicht verschleiern, die Wachsenheit der Völker zu verhindern.“

continued

Dazu hat er eine gigantische Propagandamaschine geschaffen, die alle Mittel der ideologischen Beeinflussung ausnutzt.“

Dr. Günter Kertzsch charakterisierte (ND vom 6. Juni 1971) die seit Ende der fünfziger Jahre von RFE verfolgte Linie: „Man braucht also eine antikommunistische Propaganda, die nicht direkt für den Kapitalismus und nicht direkt gegen den Sozialismus auftritt, man braucht einen Kommunismus, der der Politik des ‚Brückenschlags‘ und der ‚neuen Ostpolitik‘ entspricht. Darum empfehlen amerikanische Taktiker der psychologischen Kriegsführung den ‚soft sell‘ (die weiche Verkaufsmaschine) im Gegensatz zum ‚hard sell‘ ... Der Klassenfeind kämpft heute gegen den Sozialismus im Namen des ‚besseren‘ oder des ‚wahren‘ Sozialismus.“

## **B**rückenschlag zur NATO

Eine wesentliche Stärkung seiner Position erfuhr Free Europe 1959, als dieses weitverzweigte „Privatunternehmen“ in aller Stille einen „Brückenschlag“ besonderer Art vollzog und eine feste Bindung zur North Atlantic Treaty Organisation – kurz NATO genannt – einging.

Schon in der Zeit, als RFE auf Grund weltweiter Kritik an seiner unheilvollen Tätigkeit derart in Bedrängnis geriet, daß seine Existenz in Frage gestellt wurde, kam ihm unerwartet ein Bundesgenosse höchst seltsamer Observanz zu Hilfe: der Straßburger Europarat – die 1949 ins Leben gerufene und als Parlament aufgezugene politische Hilfs-

organisation der NATO. Auf dessen Beschluß begaben sich Vertreter der „Kommission der im Europarat nicht vertretenen Länder“ nach München und kamen nach einigen Zusammenkünften mit den Münchner Spitzenkräften, samt und sonders amerikanischen Staatsbürgern, zu der Erkenntnis, daß eine Fortführung der Tätigkeit des RFE-Senders von vitalem Interesse für die im Rat vereinten kapitalistischen Länder Europas sei. Später, im November 1960, zeigte der Straßburger Europarat sogar Bereitschaft, zur Finanzierung von RFE beizutragen, und beriet über eine Vorlage mit dem Kennwort „Free Europe“.

## **A**uftritt Rainer Barzels

In Verbindung mit diesen Vorgängen ist auch die Gründung eines aus sechzehn Mitgliedern bestehenden Komitees zu sehen, das den Namen West European Advisory Committee (WEAC) erhielt und damit beauftragt wurde, das politische Wirken von RFE und seinen Gliederungen mittels „Direktiven und Empfehlungen“ zu lenken. Diesem Ausschuß, der mindestens zweimal jährlich zusammentritt, gehören maßgebliche Mitglieder des NATO-Stabes sowie führende, in antikommunistischen Kreuzzügen „bewährte“ alte Kämpfer aus neun europäischen Ländern, darunter auch aus Schweden und Österreich, an. Selbst Franco-Spanien und Caetano-Portugal sind im Ausschuß vertreten. Als Sprecher der BRD fungierte bis zu seinem Ableben Außenminister Heinrich von Brentano (CDU). Gegenwärtig vertritt der zum CDU-Boß erhobene und als Kanzlerkandidat nominierte Rainer Barzel die BRD in diesem konterrevolutionären Gremium.

Als erster Präsident des WEAC fungierte einer der Geburtshelfer von NATO und EWG, der ehemalige belgische Ministerpräsident Paul van Zeeland; den Vorsitz übernahm der Amerikaner John C. Hughes, Mitglied des Aufsichtsrates von Free Europe, Incorporated.

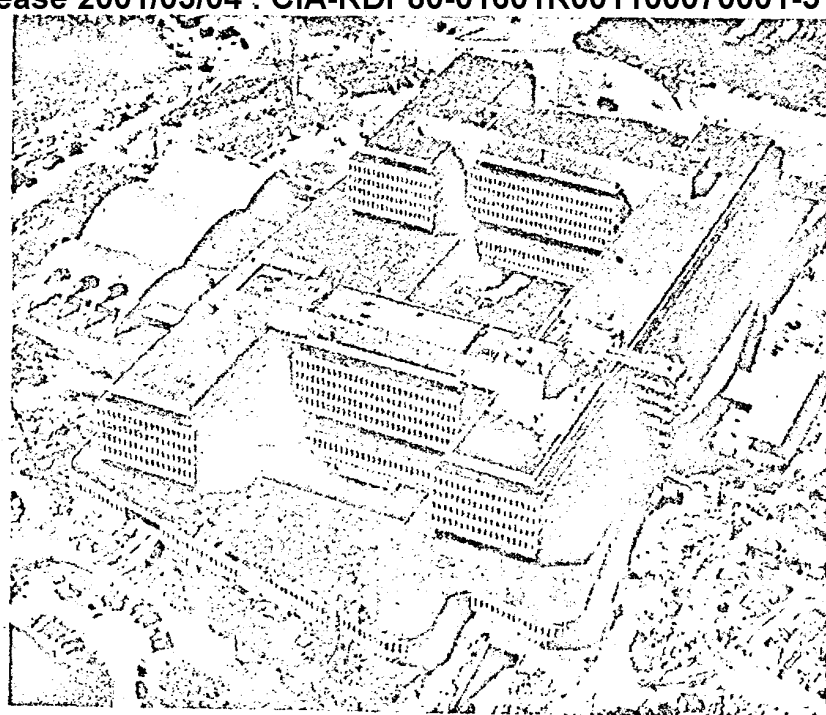
Bezeichnend für den engen Zusammenhang zwischen Free Europe und der NATO-Struktur ist die füh-

rende Rolle, die der ehemalige NATO-Generalsekretär, der Holländer Dirk Stikker, in der WEAC spielt, deren Vorsitzender er heute noch ist. Erst in jüngster Zeit, da Free Europe als Instrument des kalten Krieges und auf Grund seiner Finanzierung durch die CIA (wovon später noch die Rede sein wird) von progressiven amerikanischen Senatoren in die Zange genommen wurde, trat Stikker im März 1971 vor einem Untersuchungsausschuß des Senats in Washington auf und setzte sich leidenschaftlich für den Fortbestand des Senders ein. „RFE“, so erklärte er bei dieser Gelegenheit, „ist in einer sehr verantwortungsbewußten (!) Weise tätig und dient den lebenswichtigen Interessen des Westens, soweit es dessen Beziehungen mit dem kommunistischen Europa angeht.“

## **L**esen Sie im nächsten Heft:

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- Des Pudels Kern

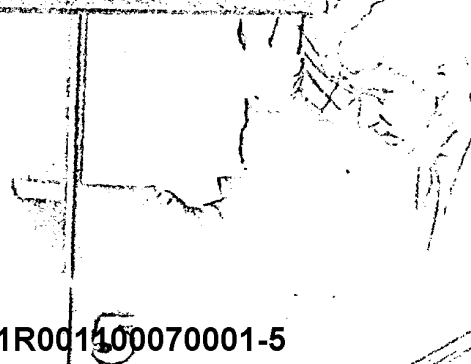
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Nach dem harten Fiasko jetzt eine neue Linie von der CIA-Centrale (Foto): „Weiche Welle“ mittels privatem „soft-sell“ mit Kindersingen (1), Hausfrauenprogrammen (2), Heimatmelodien (3), „Religionsstunden mit Pater Pire“ (4), „modern-jazz“ - Disc-jockey (5) und Chef-Diversant Melvin J. Lasky (6) (nebenbei Herausgeber des auf Intellektuellen-Magazin getrimmten „Monats“).



modern-jazz  
quartet





24 JUN 1972



STATINTL

# 'Friendly' subversion by Radio Free Europe

By ERIK BERT

The Central Intelligence Agency, in its Radio Liberty operations, is a "participant in bringing about positive revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union," says the Library of Congress study of Radio Liberty.

That study and a study of the CIA's Radio Free Europe were both prepared by the Library of Congress for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. They were published in the Congressional Record, at Senator J. W. Fulbright's request, on March 6.

In Iran, Guatemala, Laos, Vietnam the CIA has financed and directed murder brigades, but over RL, "it rejects violence as a political solution," according to the Library of Congress study.

What is the goal?

"The primary objective of RL" says the study, "is to encourage those forces of liberalization within Soviet society that will bring an eventual peaceful evolution of the USSR from Communist totalitarianism to a genuine democratic form of government.

"RL's commitment (is) to peaceful change from within."

The CIA operates on two parallel courses which, like other parallels, converge. The one course is to accept the socialist system, even the socialist governments, as given, and to carry on tactically within that framework. The other course is to incite "peaceful" rebellion against the socialist governments and against the socialist system.

In practice these two courses sometimes run separately and sometimes intertwine.

The point of convergence is anti-socialist and anti-Soviet Union. The CIA is willing to take any road, use any tactic that will advance U.S. imperialism toward that point.

RFE-CIA "does not now operate" to "keep alive 'cold war' animosities in the sense in which that term was used in the 1950s," the Library of Congress study says.

Its tactic is, rather, to accept the "prevailing Communist system in East Europe" as given, to "avoid petty or personal attack

and to carry on the attack against socialism within these boundaries, in the guise of pressing for "reform."

The situation in the socialist countries is such, the CIA believes that "Communist regimes are likely to remain in power for the foreseeable future."

Therefore the CIA will try to encourage, "within the framework of the Communist system," what it calls "positive evolution."

This is what the author of the Library of Congress' RFE report was told by responsible RFE executives.

The tactical guidelines for RFE-CIA's counterrevolutionary course are "especially cautious with respect to armed actions or uprisings."

The Library of Congress study puts it thus:

"RFE should not lead the . . . people to believe that in the event of an uprising the West would intervene militarily. RFE must not . . . speculate about an uprising . . . nor contingencies arising therefrom."

This caution has been laid out so explicitly for two reasons. In the first place, RFE-CIA was sharply attacked in anti-Communist circles for having encouraged the Hungarian counterrevolution in 1956 and misleading its forces into disaster. The other reason is that the CIA's five RFE Broadcast Departments have recruited personnel whose counterrevolutionary aims have been more cutthroat than subtle. That posed serious problems for the CIA, which fed the breed.

The CIA has not, of course, forsworn armed action. But it concluded from the Hungarian events that it should not be sucked into actions it could not control.

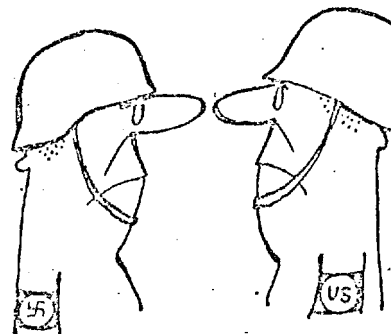
It therefore holds, as the Library of Congress study, puts it:

"In the event of emergency conditions . . . due to violent demonstrations, armed uprising and revolutions or war RFE will not assume any attitude toward such

The encouragement of "peaceful" counterrevolution resulted in part from the 1948 defeat of the attempted putsch in Czechoslovakia and the subsequent socialist

citing the "Western press" to prove RFE's innocence by the claim that broadcasts to Poland were objective.

The Hungarian counterrevolution



COINCIDEN CIA

thrust there.

The predominant thrust before the counterrevolutionary thrust in Hungary was toward "liberation of the captive countries," that is the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries by force of arms.

Radio Free Europe's predecessor, National Committee for a Free Europe, established in December, 1949, claims credit for the "liberalization" slogan.

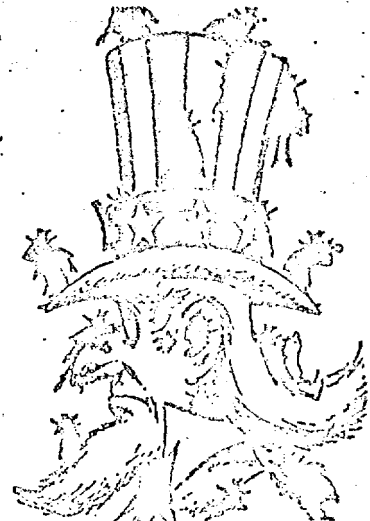
RFE's Policy Handbook written in 1950-1951 used the slogan: "spirit of noncooperation" to disguise the counterrevolutionary spirit of "liberation."

As a result of the defeat of the counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956, imperialist reaction turned increasingly to counterrevolution by "peaceful" means, toward ideological warfare.

Radio Free Europe had to live down the fact that its "earlier history" had been "dominated by the sensationalism surrounding its broadcasts to Hungary before and during the 1956 uprising." This "sensationalism" was actually encouragement to armed counterrevolution, a course which proved disastrous.

That is why the Library of Congress study is extremely sensitive to the charge that during the Polish disturbances in the winter of 1970-71 the CIA was repeating its Hungarian tactic of

The Library study defended the RFE's Polish broadcasts against the charge of sensationalism



The CIA GAME: how many CIA agents can you find in this drawing? The ones you can't find are busy bugging the Democratic Party's convention site in Miami.

tion was viewed by "most of the press and by many of the RFE staff . . . as a 'watershed' in RFE history," the Library of Congress study recalls.

The "watershed" adjective describes the change from the "strong characteristics" which marked RFE activities until the time and the allegedly "fundamentally altered" practices thereafter.

The Library of Congress study holds that the "watershed" theory is not completely valid. "Fundamental changes in RFE's approach to its basic purposes began to occur as early as 1952."

The CIA program, this side 1956, for "peaceful" counterrevolution has not and does not exclude preparations for, and lapses to, armed counterrevolution.

The lesson of the Hungarian counterrevolution was confirmed for the CIA more than a decade later in Czechoslovakia when the Warsaw Pact nations made clear that a military thrust within the socialist camp would not be "tolerated."

DAILY WORLD  
21 JUN 1972

# The CIA tries to teach its old mouthpiece

By ERIK BERT

The nature of the Central Intelligence Agency's infiltration into Soviet society is indicated by its avowed goal of the "liberalization of Soviet society." That is how its counterrevolutionary, anti-socialist, anti-Soviet program is presented in the Library of Congress study of Radio Liberty, the CIA's Munich-based vehicle for subversion.

The study was prepared at the request of Senator J. W. Fulbright, as chairman of the Foreign Relations committee. It was published in the Congressional Record of March 6.

In this vein the Central Intelligence Agency has expressed its concern, via RL, about the "serious institutional and ideological inadequacies" of the Soviet Union, about its "serious economic problems," the "most serious being the allocation of resources."

"Within the larger framework of (its) goals and purposes RL pursues immediate objectives," the Library of Congress study points out. These "practical themes" include "democratic political alternatives, economic reform, peaceful intentions of the democratic world, ideological irrelevance of Marxism-Leninism, and the virtue of cultural diversity and political pluralism."

The CIA's concern that socialism should flourish is also expressed over its other system of subversion by radio — Radio Free Europe, which, like RL, is based in Munich.

James Robert Price, author of the RFE Library of Congress study, holds that, "by and large, commentaries tend to lean slightly toward the 'liberal' approach as this term is currently used in American policies."

This testimonial is especially noteworthy coming as it does from a (former) CIA agent.

"Stated Communist ideals" go untouched, not because the CIA is more sympathetic to communism than to capitalism but because it figures that attacks on the "implementation" of these ideals may be more productive of subversion.

But even here the CIA is cautious. Simply to attack defects in "implementation" is no assurance of an audience, since the people in the socialist countries know, better than the CIA does, what their problems are. They criticize their own demerits the better to correct them.

That is why CIA "criticism" is not "purely negative." Instead, "valid achievements are given due credit" in order to offer, "in abundance," what pretend to be "alternative approaches" to what the CIA describes as "stagnated courses of action."

The "general philosophical approach of RL is one that appeals to rationalism." The RL-CIA method of operation is, as the Library of Congress study puts it: RL "attempts to 'substitute reason for emotion, and a calm voice for stridency.' It begins from the premise that 'the most convincing presentation is one which that tells all sides of a story.'"

This philosophical approach was not employed when Saigon militarists gunned down President Ngo Diem, with the foreknowledge and probably inspiration of the CIA; nor does it reflect the years-long murder policy carried out in Indochina by the CIA.

Given peace in Vietnam, we can imagine the CIA resorting to "rationalism" in its operations there; if not instead of assassination, then in addition to it.

RL's preferred tone is "friendliness, enlightenment and dignity" the Library of Congress study relates.

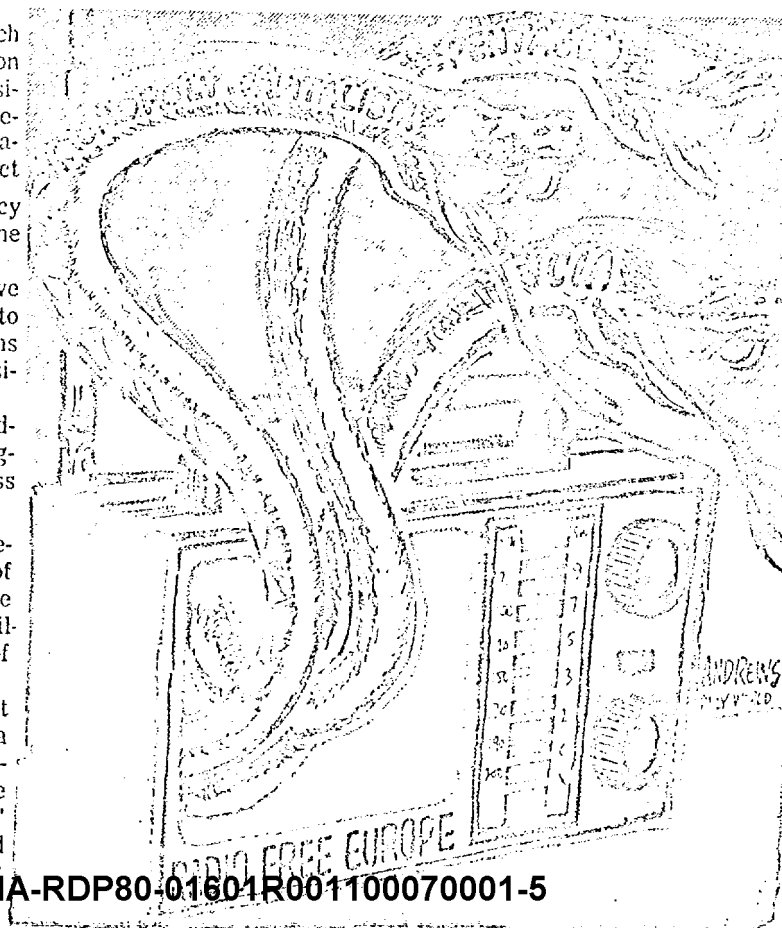
In RL comments which described a "cliche" or "act" of Leonid Brezhnev as "stupid," the word "stupid" would be bluepencil-ed by an editor, the Library of Congress study said.

"Sarcastic expressions" about Brezhnev were deleted from a commentary beamed into the Soviet Union in June 1971; as were references to "'escape abroad,' 'escape from the homeland,' and a 'comparison between the USSR

## new tricks

The Library of Congress RFE study cites the text of a birthday editorial broadcast by RFE on the occasion of the 60th birthday of the (unnamed) leader of an (unnamed) socialist country. The study notes that the original draft of the editorial had included a "petty and personal attack." But that this had been cleaned up prior to the broadcast.

The draft and the final text suggest both that RFE policy deplores dirty pool, and that dirty pool is inherent in its operations. RFE's policy is not based on decency but on the conviction that the rowdy intentions of its operatives do more harm than good, in the long run, and the CIA is in business for the long haul.



18 JUN 1972

STATINTL

## RFE Funds Are Voted By Senate

By Spencer Rich

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate voted 58 to 2 yesterday to authorize \$38,520,000 for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for the fiscal year starting July 1.

Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) and Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) were the only senators opposing the authorization. It probably will have little trouble passing the House.

Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), who had favored killing the radio stations or getting other nations to finance them, was absent. He has given up, for the present, his attempt to block funding.

The stations, once covertly financed by the Central Intelligence Agency, broadcast news and opinion into Eastern Europe. Fulbright regards them as a propaganda relic of the cold war that can only make relations between America and Russia more difficult.

Once the authorization clears the House, RFE and Radio Liberty are assured of full funding because both the House and Senate have already passed versions of the State-Justice-Commerce appropriation carrying \$38.5 million for the two stations (\$23.7 million for RFE; \$14.8 million for Radio Liberty), contingent upon approval of the authorization.

In other action yesterday the Senate:

- By a vote of 40 to 22, struck from the pending \$1.7 billion foreign military aid authorization a provision requiring a nation that receives U.S. military assistance and excess defense articles to deposit 25 per cent of their value in local currency accounts for U.S. use. Sen. Gordon Allott (R-Colo.) argued successfully that raising the present 10 per cent requirement would make it more difficult to help poor nations that can't afford to put up 25 per cent.

- By a 65-to-0 vote, passed a \$3 billion appropriation for the Department of Transportation and related agencies.

17 June 1972



## Subversive radio, a 'home service' by CIA

By ERIK BERT

The targets for the Central Intelligence Agency's subversion campaigns in the socialist countries are "the power elite, either existing or in potential," that is, what the CIA hopes might become a new leadership group.

That is how the Library of Congress study of the CIA's two radio agencies puts it. The reference is explicitly to the methods of Radio Liberty, which is targeted on the Soviet Union; but it holds also for Radio Free Europe aimed at Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania.

(The Library of Congress study was published in the Congressional Record on March 6.)

The Central Intelligence Agency sees in "the forces of dissent and reformism" in the Soviet Union, "in the 'dissident movement' (which is promoted also by the New York Times), 'a challenging opportunity for stimulating internal pressures for positive change.'"

All of RFE-CIA's five Broadcast Departments attempt to create, among engineers, scientists and technicians, antagonism to the Communist Party.

The CIA's Romanian broadcasts in the period surveyed for the Library of Congress studies were focused on aggravating differences between intellectuals and the Romanian Communist Party. It noted that the ideological campaign of the Romanian Communist Party had "been viewed with considerable alarm by both groups of Romanian intellectuals and by RFE's Romanian Broadcasting Department." It looked forward, hopefully, to the possibility of a "cultural revolution in Romania," as a result.

A stickler for efficiency, the RFE-CIA criticized Romania, as it did Czechoslovakia, for being tardy with its formulation of economic plans.

To these ends Radio Liberty, in seeking a Soviet audience — "takes the stance of a 'patriotic internal communicator,'" that is

not a U.S. imperialist or CIA agency.

RL-CIA puts on the false face of a "genuine uncensored 'Home Service,'" seeking to "convey to the listener that RL is really one of them;" appealing to the "principles of common sense;" to "reason, moderation and good judgment."

The CIA's Polish department presented itself as "an opposition press," but "working for all practical purposes within the context of Poland's present socio-political framework," that is, as a "socialist" CIA. To this end "the specific policy with respect toward contemporary Poland is one of neither attack nor support of the regime in toto," but "reasoned discussion focused on all major developments..."

This should be taken with a lump of salt, of course, for this "reasoned discussion" means attack on the allegedly "inadequate and vague formulation of the pre-Congress (Polish United Workers Party congress) guidelines on wages;" denunciation of the allegedly "scandalous conditions in Polish mental hospitals;" the alleged "police inactivity" in nailing traders in "gold and foreign currencies" indicating that this meant "high-level corruption, possibly including the headquarters of the Ministry of the Interior."

CIA zeroed in on the trade unions and the youth, also, declaring that "under Party bureaucrats the trade unions had become tools of the establishment;" and "questioning whether... proposed additional bureaucratic bodies could" solve certain youth problems. It urged, "constructively," that more money, not new organization was needed to do this job.

The major content of the RFE-CIA Poland-oriented broadcasts, during the survey period, was discussion of alleged differences within the Polish United Workers Party, of party "bureaucracy." The lesson which RFE-CIA sought to get across was the need for the bureaucracy.

The key to this effort, the CIA said, was to be "freedom of the press" as the "only possible form of social control over the class of Party bureaucrats." The CIA sought to convince its listeners that such "social control" was the "only effective brake on their (the bureaucrats')... pushing Poland to the bottom and plunging the country in tragic stagnation."

The CIA presented itself, in its RFE disguise, as the great champion of socialist economic progress in Poland.

RFE-CIA's Hungarian broadcasts for the period under review in the Library of Congress study "were weighted heavily" with economic subjects. Its general line was to agree with the goals, but "criticize the tactics" employed by the government.

The CIA agreed that the "twin problems of overinvestment and foreign trade deficits should be solved"—but "without either over-exploitation of labor or curtailed productivity." It "emphasized the need to replace obsolete industrial machinery" as a "necessary investment;" but "deplored the government's tendency to cut back" such investments as "wasteful and profit cutting."

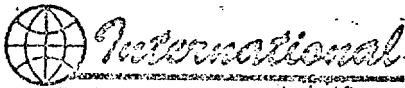
The Hungarian broadcasts urged "more aid to private plot owners;" and help to "small farmers (to) purchase directly badly-needed small farm machinery."

The CIA "promised to try" to provide a "weekly adult education course for Hungarian farmers during the winter evenings when weather conditions make farm work impractical."

The CIA even "made several suggestions as to how the many problems" of "Hungarian artisans" could be aided by the government.

To further its aim of appearing within the socialist communities as a "home communicator," as a loyal opposition, as more concerned with the progress of socialism than the Communist

16 June 1972



## 'Liberalization' out of the mouths of liars

By ERIK BERT

The role of the CIA's two European radios, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, has been outlined in studies prepared by the Library of Congress. The studies, while biased, are useful. The studies were introduced into the Congressional Record on March 6 by Senator J. W. Fulbright, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Radio Liberty's target is the Soviet Union.

Radio Free Europe operates against Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania.

Radio Liberty was conceived with an anti-Soviet orientation. That was spelled out in the name of its forerunner, the "American Committee of Freedom of the Peoples of the USSR," incorporated in 1951.

Radio Liberty confesses its sordid past readily — the better to convince the world that it has reformed.

Cold war "was RL's *raison d'être*: it was a 'cold war operation' ... It was a creation of the cold war designed to satisfy U.S. foreign policy requirements. ... RL was one of the many weapons of psychological warfare" against the socialist countries. That is how Radio Liberty explained it, in the words of the Library of Congress report: Radio Liberty was "committed" to the "complete destruction of the Soviet Union."

Early in 1921 the enemies of Soviet power initiated a shift in tactics. The slogan "Down with the Soviets!" was abandoned; a new slogan, "For the Soviets, but without Communists," replaced it. The change in slogan did not affect the underlying purpose, as the Kronstadt rebellion in 1921 showed. The mutineers, inspired by counter-revolutionaries of varied complexion, took up the struggle against the Soviet power under the slogan: "Soviets without Communists!"

Half a century later, guided by the CIA, Radio Liberty "as a matter of policy accepts all Soviet institutions" and "advocates about peaceful democratic change

from within." It accepted everything except the Soviet "ideology," the spirit of Soviet power.

In the late 1950s Radio Liberty switched from "liberation" to "liberalization," to a "policy of peaceful liberalization of Soviet society."

The shift to "moderation" was not due to a change in the CIA's

outlook, but for the purpose of gaining an audience. As Alexander Backerac, one of the editors at Radio Liberty put it: "no one is impressed by the 'hard approach.'"

The change in slogan from "liberation" to "liberalization" was not a one-shot operation. The shift took place gradually, with some evidences of change in the early 1950s. The failure of the Hungarian counter-revolution and, especially, the complicity of the CIA's radio outlets in it, intensified the rate of change.

During the Hungarian counter-revolution, the CIA operated on two distinct levels. Radio Free Europe cheered on the counter-revolution. Radio liberty played it cool.

When the counter-revolution came a-cropper, CIA's RFE was accused of "unnecessarily raising the hopes of Western intervention in the revolution," the Library of Congress study reports.

In contrast, "during those years," Radio Liberty was criticized for broadcasting material far too bland — and moderate" in political content.

The line of peaceful transition from the Soviet system was projected in 1954 and again in 1956. By November 1958 "RL's basic Policy Manual...made it clear that evolution, not revolution, was the main direction of political change within the Soviet Union." "The principle of freely elected government as a means for political transformation was asserted."

Under the 1958 Policy Manual, Radio Liberty "would neither directly nor indirectly attempt to urge any particular platform or promote directly any line of action." "It was clear that the democratic West

did not seek to impose any particular form of government on the Soviet people;" thus, "moderation and restraint were restated as principles to be followed in broadcasting;" There was a "commitment to a policy of peaceful liberalization of Soviet society."

The 1965 Radio Liberty Policy Manual was "even more explicit than its predecessor in stressing the principle of evolutionary change," to "helping all citizens of the USSR achieve freedom and responsible government.... and "not to incite group action." "Friendliness of tone was given particular emphasis...."

The moderation repeatedly recommended in succeeding Policy Manuals did not mean necessarily greater moderation.

Nor did the new line mean that Radio Liberty had ceased to be a CIA organ, or that the CIA had ceased to be a para-military, anti-socialist, anti-Soviet agency.

Moderation was a new cover for counter-revolution and anti-Soviet aggression. During those same years, in Indochina, the CIA pursued not moderation but murder.

Future columns will deal with the CIA's intended audience and with various aspects of its "moderate" operation against the Socialist countries of Europe.



## On the CIA radio Angela Davis was guilty

By ERIK BERT

The attempt to frame Angela Davis created problems for the Central Intelligence Agency and, especially, for its Radio Free Europe network. RFE was attempting to talk about "freedom" to an audience which was anxious about Angela Davis and protesting in her behalf.

The Library of Congress study of Radio Free Europe, which was published in the Congressional Record on March 6, 1972, refers sketchily to the case. RFE-CIA "replied to official Czechoslovak propaganda... in the Angela Davis case," the Library's report said.

RFE-CIA's premise was that Angela Davis was guilty. That was what Nixon had said, that was what J. Edgar Hoover had said, that was what Governor Ronald Reagan had said; that was the CIA line, that's what CIA's RFE said.

"Pointing out the facts of the crime," it indicated the "circumstances wherein the trial is open to the public."

RFE-CIA referred to the fact that the "USSR had been invited to send observers." The Soviet Union declined to take the bait which was intended to provide a cover for the intended conviction.

RFE-CIA said the "Court agreed to a change of venue," when in fact the change of venue was won only after an intense and costly struggle.

RFE-CIA cited, finally, that "Angela's sister remains free to travel and denounce the U.S." implying that the fact that Fania Davis Jordan was not also being framed was a great tribute to capitalist democracy.

RFE then asked, in conclusion, whether "such circumstances would be possible in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic."

One thing is sure, Angela Davis would not have faced life imprisonment in Czechoslovakia, as she did in California, for fighting for a nationally-oppressed minority, or against the imperialist war.

One of the key roles in this CIA attempt to prove to the Czechoslovak public that Angela was getting a fair trial for a crime of which she was guilty was played by one Slava Volny. He is one of the emcees on the RFE-CIA

broadcast directed to Czechoslovakia.

Volny's last place of employment prior to joining the RFE-CIA was Radio Prague where he was a leading commentator in 1968 avowing his devotion to "freedom," "democratic socialism," and to "socialism with a human face."

What is not clear from the Library of Congress study of RFE is whether Volny was recruited by the CIA prior to fleeing Prague for Munich, or subsequently.

The problem which now faces the Central Intelligence Agency and its Radio Free Europe outlet

is to explain why the San Jose jury acquitted Angela Davis.

They had said she was guilty. They will probably say that her acquittal proves that there is justice for Blacks for Communists, and for Black Communists in the United States.

They would still have to explain why President Nixon, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Governor Ronald Reagan declared her guilty before a trial; why she was placed on the FBI's ten most-wanted list, perilled by shoot-to-kill cops, why she was compelled to spend 16 months in prison because she was refused bail before her trial.

STATINTL

JUN 1972

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## Vital Communications to the East

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee showed good judgment this week when it overruled its chairman, Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), and voted to extend the life of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for at least another year.

For months, Fulbright has been doing his best to throttle Radio Liberty and RFE—which broadcast to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, respectively—by blocking the relatively modest funds needed for their operations.

Now that his efforts have been repudiated by his own committee, it is taken for granted that both authorization and appropriations bills for the Munich-based stations will get congressional approval.

Fulbright argues that the stations are a relic of the cold war and can only get in the way of better relations between this country and the Soviet Union. There was a time, more than 15 years ago, when his criticism might have had some validity. But that day is long past.

The best proof that the program does not interfere with detente is provided by the enormously

important treaties and agreements signed by President Nixon and the Soviet leaders at the recent Moscow summit.

The key function of RFE and Radio Liberty is not to broadcast American news or propaganda, but to give news of events in the Communist countries themselves. It is news which the people would not otherwise read or hear because their own media are so rigidly censored.

As the liberal British weekly, the Guardian, observed not long ago, "Radio Liberty is providing an alternative free radio service for Russian listeners . . . it broadcasts back to Russia what the dissident Russian writers and intellectuals are prevented from publishing in their own countries."

It is significant that the severest criticism of Fulbright's crusade has come from within the Communist nations themselves. When dissident Soviet writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn heard of the attack against Radio Liberty, he told Western newsmen that, "If we ever learn anything about what is going on in this country, it is through them."



8 JUN 1972

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# U.S. RADIO ABROAD WINS SENATE TEST

## Overriding Fulbright, Unit Votes Funds for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 7—Despite the objections of its chairman, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted overwhelmingly today to approve an Administration request for \$38.5-million to extend the life of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for at least another year.

The 10-to-3 vote of the committee, headed by Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, virtually insured the continued existence of the two stations, whose broadcasts have long infuriated the Soviet Union and its allies.

Radio Liberty beams its programs to the Soviet Union, Radio Free Europe to the nations of Eastern Europe. Both were established in the nineteen-fifties and until last year received their funds secretly through the Central Intelligence Agency.

Senator Fulbright, who has called the stations "relics of the cold war" and a waste of taxpayers' money, argued against continued Government financing of the stations during two days of hearings that ended this morning.

But aside from the support he drew from Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, and Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, he failed to convince the committee either to deny or to reduce the Administration request.

The \$38.5-million request for the next fiscal year has already been approved by both the Senate and House Appropriations Committees. The House Foreign Affairs Committee is expected to approve the necessary authorization shortly. The bill is not expected to face any significant floor fight when it is brought up for Senate and House approval later this month, Congressional sources said.

Mr. Fulbright, by a vote of most members of his committee, had almost succeeded in

for the fiscal year ending June 30. But Administration pressure succeeded in bringing about a compromise allowing the stations to function until this June 30. The expected passage of the new bill will extend their life at least until June 30, 1973.

### White House View Given

The Administration's argument for continuing the stations was made by U. Alexis Johnson, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, at this morning's hearing.

He told the committee that despite the accords reached by President Nixon in Moscow, the Soviet Union and the United States would continue to be major world competitors. He said that the stations were important in that they served as "a free and independent press" for the peoples of Eastern Europe whose media are tightly controlled.

He said that if the peoples of the Communist countries had information that might otherwise be denied them by their governments, they could help bring about beneficial internal changes.

Mr. Johnson added that the broadcasting activities of Radio Liberty had not in any way impeded the Moscow talks between Mr. Nixon and the Soviet leaders.

"I do not think that there is room now for any doubt that this Administration's effort to

achieve the first strategic arms limitation agreements was a completely successful one," he said. "This success was in no way diminished by its continuing strong support for freedom of international communication, nor was the achievement of the agreements jeopardized by the continued broadcasting of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty."

Earlier this year, Mr. Fulbright had said that he thought the stations might be a factor in delaying Soviet agreement on the strategic arms treaty.

Mr. Fulbright had been increasingly frustrated in recent months in his efforts to curtail Administration programs. He was soundly defeated on the Senate floor after he had succeeded in persuading his com-

mittee to cut sharply the United States Information Agency funds for the next year. The vote today was one of the few against Mr. Fulbright by the committee itself.

Over the years, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, both with headquarters in Munich, have received about \$500-million in Government funds. They specialize in broadcasting news and views that would not normally be permitted by the Government-controlled media, in Communist countries.

Mr. Johnson in his testimony said that efforts would be made to get financial contributions from West European countries to help defray the costs of the stations.

STATINTL

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## Senate Panel Votes Foreign Radio Money

By Spencer Rich  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Overriding the opposition of its chairman and of Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Foreign Relations Committee voted 10 to 3 yesterday to authorize \$38,520 for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty during the coming fiscal year.

The sum was the amount sought by the Nixon administration for the two stations, which broadcast news and opinion into Eastern Europe from transmitters in Western Europe. A move by Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho) to cut the figure to \$36 million failed, 9 to 4, with Church, Mansfield, Committee Chairman J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) and Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) backing the cut. Mansfield, Symington and Fulbright voted against the final bill as well.

The committee also established a procedure for hearings on the Moscow nuclear arms limitation agreements, which may be sent to the Senate today.

The committee decided to hold hearings on the two international agreements in three phases. First, it will hear from the administration, then from a group of nuclear arms experts it will ask to testify, and finally from public organizations and individuals who wish to be heard.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were covertly fi-

nanced by the CIA for two decades, but widespread opposition to concealed CIA influence moved Congress to require public financing last year.

At that time Fulbright and others argued that the stations are simply propaganda remnants of the cold war and should be phased out

JUN 1972

# U.S. Asked to Aid 2 Radio Stations

STATINTL

Supporters of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty argued yesterday for full financing by the U.S. government for one more year while an effort is made to get Western Europeans to share the burden.

The testimony came as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee opened hearings on a Nixon administration bill authorizing \$38.5 million to operate the two radio stations in the year beginning July 1.

The two stations, which up to a year ago were financed, in the main covertly by the Central Intelligence Agency, broadcast to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union from Munich.

Committee Chairman J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), who earlier this year succeeded in legislating an end to funding for the stations, as of June 30, expressed opposition to continued U.S. financing.

Fulbright cited an "emerging spirit of cooperation and accommodation" between the United States and the Soviet Union, and an "apparent lack of interest on the part of our European allies" in helping to finance the radio operations.

The only witness to testify at the opening session, Dr. Dirk U. Stikker of the Netherlands, chairman of the West European Advisory Committee to RFE, acknowledged that "it is time for West Europeans to begin sharing the financial burden."

Stikker said the climate in Western Europe is "clearly favorable to the continuation of the radios and, by careful and patient handling, to the development of a more active European participation."

But he said development of such support will "require long, hard work," and he said "an appreciable European contribution should not be expected to be available in the next year."

Fulbright questioned Stikker at length about the prospect "of any tangible support from Europe."

"Do you know of any government willing to pay anything toward these radios?" Fulbright asked. Stikker said he knew of several "but it is all confidential."

Stikker said supporters "cannot start a real organized effort to raise money in Europe" until Congress votes to continue the radios.

Sens. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and Charles Percy (R-Ill.) argued for a year's grace but, in Javits' words, "there will be a real obligation on the part of Europe to see that the year is not wasted."

Fulbright said he didn't see any assurance, if the U.S. provides funds for another year, that there would be action in Europe. He said the European attitude was more apt to be: "The Americans will continue to do it—they're big and rich and stupid."

# Gift im Englischen Garten

Sammlungen

über Informationspolitik und  
Hintergründe von

RADIO FREE EUROPE (RFE)

Taschenrechner

von

Georg Hönigsmann

Spionagechef Allan Dulles führte dem Komitee noch andere seiner früheren Mitarbeiter zu, die sich bei der Herstellung von Nazi-Kontakten unter den Fittichen des OSS bewährt hatten: u. a. Charles Douglas Jackson, einen Experten für psychologische Kriegsführung, der auf diesem Gebiet erhebliche „Verdienste“ nachweisen konnte. Aber auch auf dem privaten Sektor stellte Jackson als Vizepräsident des mächtigen TIME- und LIFE-Verlages, der die in Millionenaufage und in „International Editions“ verbreitete Illustrierte LIFE und das Nachrichtenmagazin TIME herausgibt, etwas dar. Er wurde zum Präsidenten des Komitees ernannt und übte diese Position bis 1952 aus; ferner Robert E. Lang, ein von Dulles besonders geschätzter OSS-Mann, der später die Stellung eines Direktors von RADIO FREE EUROPE übernahm. Zu den aktivsten Komitee-Mitgliedern zählte außerdem der ehemalige Kriegsminister Clark M. Clifford, der seit der Präsidentschaft Harry S. Trumans als Berater des Weißen Hauses in Geheimdienstangelegenheiten fungierte.

**N**

eu verpackter  
Antikommunismus

Selbstverständlich fehlten in der Runde der Repräsentanten der großen

Monopole: Ford, vertreten durch den Chef des Hauses Henry Ford II., der 1952 General Clay als Präsident der Bewegung „Kreuzzug für die Freiheit“ ablöste. Clay übernahm daraufhin den Aufsichtsratsvorsitz in FREE EUROPE, INCORPORATED, den er auch heute noch innehat. General Motors hatte seinen Generaldirektor James Roche, Standard Oil das Vorstandsmitglied Michel Haider delegiert. Die Dynastie Rockefeller war vertreten durch ihren Sproß Nelson Rockefeller, den derzeitigen Gouverneur des Staates New York, der erst in jüngster Zeit – anlässlich der Auslieferung von Angela Davis an die rassistischen Justizbehörden Kaliforniens – seine Verbundenheit mit den ultrarechten politischen Gruppierungen in den USA demonstrierte.

Bedeutenden Einfluß auf das Aktionsprogramm von „Free Europe“ hatten bemerkenswerterweise auch zwei in der Meinungsmanipulierung höchst rührige Antikommunisten: Dewitt Wallace, der Gründer und Eigentümer der in 29 internationalen Ausgaben und 13 Sprachen mit einer Auflage von 9 Millionen Exemplaren monatlich erscheinenden Zeitschrift READER'S DIGEST, die seit 1921 unter der Tarnung von Wissenschaftlichkeit und Objektivität die bürgerliche Intelligenz in aller Welt mit antikommunistischen Argumenten beliefert. Weiterhin der inzwischen verstorbene Henry R. Luce,

Verleger und Herausgeber des Nachrichtenmagazins TIME, der Wochen-illustrierten LIFE und der der Verherrlichung der „freien Marktwirtschaft“ und ihrer Nutznießer geweihten, luxuriös ausgestatteten Monatszeitschrift FORTUNE. Auch Luce war ein Mann, der es verstanden hatte, den Antisowjetismus in einer attraktiven Verpackung an die breite kleinbürgerliche Mittelschicht, die „informiert“ sein möchte, zu verhökern.

Der Unterstützung reaktionärer und sowjetfeindlicher Gewerkschaftsvertreter hatte man sich ebenfalls versichert und auf Empfehlung des State Department einen führenden Funktionär namens Carey zur Mitarbeit ins Komitee genommen. Auf diese Weise konnte man der Unterstützung der vereinigten großen Gewerkschaftsorganisationen – American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organisation – sicher sein, die sich tatsächlich auch später bei der Propagierung Konrad Adenauers zum Bundeskanzler bewährte: Auf der Frontseite des Mitteilungsblattes dieser größten amerikanischen Gewerkschaft war damals ein lobhudele Artikel erschienen, der Adenauer in allen Farben und Tönen als den „Retter des Abendlandes“ anpries. Dieses Elaborat wurde sofort ins Deutsche übersetzt und als „Stimme des Freien Amerikas“ in Millionenaufage in Westdeutschland verbreitet. Der „Kanzler der Alliierten“ war von dem Erfolg der Aktion derart tief beeindruckt, daß er Careys Kollegen, „Bruder“ George Meany und „Bruder“ Jay Lovestone, als seine persönlichen Gäste ins Palais Schaumburg einlud und sie mit hohen Orden behängte.

**E**isenhower  
mit dem Klingelbeutel

Um der ganzen Sache ein überparteiliches, nationales Mäntelchen umzuhängen, hatte man sich schließlich der Unterstützung und Mitarbeit von General Dwight D. Eisenhower, des späteren USA-Präsidenten, versichert, der mit hindenburgischer Borniertheit und gespielter Bonhomie für jeden antikommunistischen Rummel zu haben war. Ihm hatte man, als es schließlich so weit war, aufgetragen, die erste große Spenden-

aktion für den Sender „Free Europe“ durchzuführen.

Möglicherweise „hatte man den reichlich naiven Eisenhower darüber im unklaren gelassen, daß die Mittel zur Finanzierung der verschiedenen Aktivitäten von „Free Europe“ längst von anderer Seite garantiert und größtenteils auch schon bereitgestellt waren. Aber ein solcher Appell an die Freigebigkeit des „patriotisch“ gesinnten amerikanischen Bürgers war geeignet, den wahren Charakter der Institution zu verschleiern und das Märchen von der privaten Initiative mit einer dünnen Tünche von Glaubwürdigkeit zu überpinseln.

„Kreuzzug für die Freiheit“ und „Free Europe“ waren in ihren ersten Stadien Ausgeburten der Wahnvorstellung, daß die USA – in jenen Jahren noch im Alleinbesitz atomarer Waffen, die in Hiroshima und Nagasaki mit dem Blick auf einen künftigen Waffengang gegen die UdSSR „ausprobiert“ worden waren – die Sowjetunion und ihre Verbündeten in die Knie zwingen und den Sturz der Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Regierungen verhältnismäßig mühelos herbeiführen könnten. In diesem Sinne erklärte der offizielle Initiator des NATIONAL COMMITTEE

FREE EUROPE, Joseph Grew, in der Gründungsversammlung: „Wenn der Zeitpunkt kommt, werden wir es mit Zuständen zu tun haben, die einem sozialen Chaos und einem politischen Vakuum sehr nahekommen. Wenn die demokratischen (!) Führer (gemeint sind die Verräter und Deserteure, die ihrem Vaterland den Rücken gekehrt hatten – d. Red.) die Zwischenzeit in voller Schaffenskraft überleben, können wir hoffen, daß sie ihren Teil zum demokratischen Wiederaufbau leisten werden. Unsere Aufgabe wird sein, die Stimmen dieser Exilführer auszustrahlen. Sie werden zu ihren Völkern in Europa in deren Sprache und vertrauten Worten sprechen. Wir werden ihnen helfen, daß ihre Botschaft auch mit dem gedruckten Wort die Heimat erreicht.“

Das war nicht nur so dahergeredet. Nachdem erst einmal „Free Europe“ in München einen Brückenkopf errichtet hatte, wurden von dort aus sogleich und bis weit in die fünfziger Jahre hinein Hunderte von Millionen gasgefüllter Ballons aufgelassen, die Broschüren und Flugblätter mit aufhetzenden, wenn auch völlig wirklichen Aussagen, die auch nach New York und London em-

grieten. Benes-Klüngels in die CSR trugen. Die wiederholten Proteste der CSR-Regierung ignorierte Washington auch dann noch, als bei Levoča ein Passagierflugzeug durch Zusammenprall mit einem Hetzballon abstürzte und 30 Personen dabei den Tod fanden.



## Hetze von der Steuer absetzen

Am 4. Juli 1950 wurden in Biblis bei Frankfurt am Main mit einem 7,5-kW-Kurzwellensender die ersten Erfahrungen gesammelt. Dann, 1951, nahmen General Clays Pläne Gestalt an, in München ein großangelegtes Diversions- und Spionagezentrum in Verbindung mit einer höchst leistungsfähigen Sendeanlage (Gesamtkapazität heute 2245 kW, verglichen mit nur 500 kW der BBC, England, und 730 kW des US-Hetzsenders RIAS) zu errichten.

Unter Berufung auf das Besatzungsrecht hatten die Amis ein 70 mal 250 m<sup>2</sup> großes Grundstück am Englischen Garten gegen den lahmen Protest der bayrischen „Verwaltung staatliche Schlösser und Seen“, die für das Grundstück eine durchaus andere Verwendung in Aussicht genommen hatte, requiriert. Die bayrische Verwaltung konnte lediglich die amerikanischen Gebieter zu dem Versprechen bewegen, den auf dem beschlagnahmten Grundstück früher befindlichen Chinesischen Turm, der in den Kriegsjahren eingestürzt war, wieder aufzubauen. RADIO FREE EUROPE hat dieses Versprechen nur im übertragenen Sinn erfüllt und seit der Abkehr der Mao-Clique von den Grundsätzen des Marxismus-Leninismus in seinen Sendungen die Mao-Karte turmhoch ausgespielt.

Im November 1951 kam der bereits erwähnte Charles Douglas Jackson, einer der wichtigsten Männer der Organisation „Free Europe“, eigens nach München geflogen, um die inzwischen rekrutierten Mitarbeiter auf Vordermann zu bringen. Klipp und klar erklärte Jackson bei dieser Gelegenheit: „Radio Freies Europa ist ein Dienst des psychologischen Krieges. Unsere Organisation ist geschaffen worden, um in den Ländern, denen unsere Sendungen gelten, Unruhen hervorzurufen. Militärische Einmischung hat überhaupt nur Sinn, wenn den Völkern der uns zu bewaffneten Inlandsaktionen ein-

geimpft wird.“ Und getreu dieser Anleitung unternahm RADIO FREE EUROPE den Amoklauf gegen die Volksdemokratien, damals noch in dem naiven Glauben, mit den Posauern aus München die Mauern Prags zum Einsturz bringen zu können.

In dem ersten Werbeprospekt, den RADIO FREE EUROPE im selben Jahr, 1951, in den USA zirkulieren ließ, konnte es auf eine Äußerung des amerikanischen Außenminister Dean Acheson verweisen, der dem wilden Treiben der Münchner seinen offiziellen Segen erteilte: „Das State Department“, so hieß es da, „ist über die Bildung von RFE sehr erfreut. Es hält die Ziele der Organisation für ausgezeichnet.“ Auf derselben Seite war unten in kleinem Druck noch vermerkt: „Spenden für ‚Free Europe‘ können von der Einkommensteuer abgesetzt werden.“

Ständig erfuhr der Sender Verstärkung und Ausdehnung – gebietsmäßig und in Hinsicht auf seine technische Ausrüstung: Zur „Voice of Free“ Czechoslovakia“ gesellten sich noch vor Ende des Jahres 1951 Sendungen für Ungarn und Rumänien, und ab Mai 1952 wurde Volkspolen unter ideologischen Beschuß genommen.

Mit der Wandlung der außenpolitischen Konzeption Washingtons von der „Eindämmung“ zum „Roll back of Communism“ (Zurückrollen des Kommunismus) erfuhren auch die Taktiken von RFE insofern eine Modifizierung, als jetzt der Hauptakzent auf eine „Stärkung der Kampfmoral der unterjochten Völker“ (!) verlegt wurde.



Lesen Sie  
im nächsten Heft:

- Bericht der alten Dame
- Neue Taktik: „soft sell“

continued

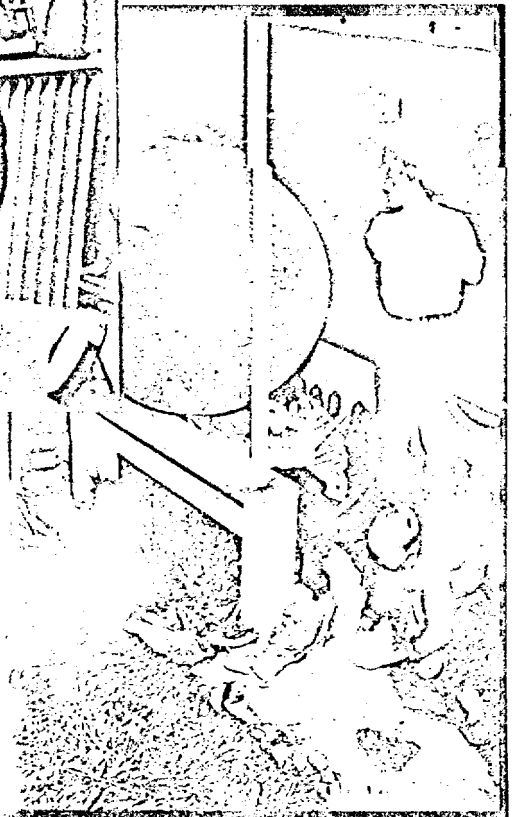
→  
Am 10. März  
1948 traf  
Henry Ford  
auf dem  
Rhein-Main-  
Flughafen  
ein und  
stellte sich  
mit seinen  
Ansichten zur  
„Lage in  
Deutschland“  
vor: als ganz  
privater  
politischer  
Patriot.



←  
Auch Monopol-  
Sproß Nelson  
Rockefeller  
hatte Großes  
mit dem  
„Privat“-Unter-  
nehmen RFE vor:  
Privat-Spenden  
durften von der  
Steuer abgesetzt  
werden.



↑ Wo immer Millionen Dollar mit  
Meinungsmache verdient werden können  
und die Meinungen von Millionen  
mit den Magazinen TIME und LIFE  
manipuliert werden sollten, war er  
mit von der Partie: Herausgeber  
Henry R. Luce (mit Eisenhower).



↑ Private Nebeninitiativen des  
RFE-Konsortiums:  
Im bayrischen Grenzgebiet werden  
Gasballons gefüllt (Foto)  
und mit Hetzflugblättern versehen  
in Richtung Prag getrieben.



←  
Für Millionenaufgaben in der  
frisch gebildeten BRD dankbar:  
„Bruder“ Adenauer (links)  
läßt „Bruder“ George Meany

3 June 1972

## Rendez-vous im Waldorf Astoria

Im Frühjahr des Jahres 1949, zu einem Zeitpunkt, als der „kalte Krieg“ hohe Wellen schlug und seine amerikanischen Einpeitscher auf der Linie der „Eindämmung des Kommunismus“ (containment of communism) operierten, kam es in New Yorks 45stöckigem Waldorf Astoria Hotel zu einer folgenschweren Zusammenkunft: George F. Kennan, zu jener Zeit als sogenannter Ostexperte inoffizieller Ratgeber Präsident Trumans und Verfasser zahlreicher Publikationen des Inhalts, wie man die Ergebnisse des zweiten Weltkrieges zugunsten des amerikanischen Imperialismus korrigieren sollte, gab sich mit dem ehemaligen US-Botschafter in Japan, Joseph Grew, bekannt als Kommunistenfresser, ein Stelldichein.

Vermutlich war der Anstoß dazu vom amerikanischen Kriegsministerium gekommen, genauer gesagt, von dem ihm unterstellten „Department of Psychological Warfare“, das ebenfalls im Jahr 1949 das Licht der Welt erblickt hatte und durch besondere Rührigkeit seine Existenzberechtigung unter Beweis stellen wollte. Allerdings läßt sich die Spur, die zu der Begegnung Kennan-Grew führt, noch weiter zurückverfolgen.

## Clay ist dabei ...

Im Herbst 1947 hatte eine Gruppe von Kongreßabgeordneten eine Studienreise durch 22 Länder unternommen, um sich einen Überblick über die Arbeit der amerikanischen Propagandaorgane im Ausland zu verschaffen. Im Berliner Hauptquartier des US-Militärgouverneurs Lucius D. Clay, von dem aus sie ihre weiteren Erkundungsfahrten unternahmen, ließen sie sich ihre ersten Unterweisungen erteilen. Der General, bekannt als unversöhnlicher Feind der Sowjetunion, während seiner Amtszeit zu verschiedenen Malen dazu entschlossen, den kalten Krieg in einen heißen Schießkrieg zu verkehren mit dem Ziel, die Sowjetunion zu zerstören, nach 1945 rückgängig zu

machen und den Einfluß des Westens in Südost- und Osteuropa wiederherzustellen, überzeugte seine Leute davon, daß die von den offiziellen amerikanischen Stellen betriebene politische Propaganda völlig unzureichend und daher wirkungslos wäre. Er entwickelte den Gedanken, man müsse Organe und Institutionen schaffen, welche „nach außen hin nicht offiziell auftretend mit größter Wirksamkeit und mit nur geringer Schädigung des moralischen Ansehens der US-Regierung die für das Ausland bestimmte subversive Propaganda betreiben“ können.

Nach ihrer Rückkehr in die USA entfaltete die „Studien“-Gruppe amerikanischer Parlamentarier im Senat und im Repräsentantenhaus eine hektische Betriebsamkeit, um die Vorschläge General Clays populär zu machen. Selbstverständlich wurden sie bei ihrem Vorgehen von einem steifen Rückenwind aus maßgebenden Kreisen des State-Departments

und des Kriegsministeriums begünstigt. Auf die Initiative dieser Abgeordneten ist auch die Einbringung und die in beiden Häusern des Kongresses kaum umstrittene Annahme des Smith-Mundt-Gesetzes zurückzuführen. Dieses Gesetz legte die staatsrechtlichen Bedingungen für die Gründung und Unterhaltung privater Rundfunkanstalten fest, oder, anders ausgedrückt, es machte den Weg für die Inbetriebnahme solcher Sendeeinrichtungen, wie sie RFE später darstellte, frei. Bemerkenswert ist, daß das Gesetz vorschreibt, daß alle politischen Sendungen der als „private“ Unternehmen aufgezogenen Rundfunkstationen der Kontrolle der Regierung unterliegen.

Der Annahme des Smith-Mundt-Gesetzes folgte sogleich eine Serie von Geheimverhandlungen, bei denen Vertreter des gerade damals sich ungeheuer aufblühenden US-Spionagedienstes entscheidend mitwirkten. Sie waren sämtlich darauf gerichtet, der amerikanischen Propagandamaschine einen „New Look“ zu geben, was damit erreicht werden sollte, daß in Zukunft die Abteilung für psychologische Kriegsführung und die Geheimdienstzentrale der CIA den Ton angeben sollten.

Kennan schlug vor, eine Organisation auf die Beine zu stellen, in der politische Emigranten aus Osteuropa zu einer „demokratischen Elite“ zusammengefaßt würden. Kennan ließ dabei durchblicken, daß der damalige amerikanische Außenminister Dean Acheson, bekannt als einer der aggressivsten Vertreter der amerikanischen Atombombenpolitik in der Zeit des amerikanischen Kernwaffenmonopols, solche Projekte mit allergrößter Sympathie verfolge und eine „private“ Initiative als denkbar beste Form zu deren Durchführung ansehe. Auf diese Weise werde es auch gelingen, wichtige wirtschaftliche, politische und religiöse Gruppen in den USA zu mobilisieren. Grew, dem die Übertragung einer so wichtigen Mission an seinem sonst recht eintönigen Lebensabend außerordentlich schmeichelte, griff bereitwillig Kennans Empfehlung auf.

Im Mai 1949 zog er einen alten Freund und Gesinnungsgenossen, Dewitt C. Pool, ins Vertrauen, der in jungen Jahren als Chargé d'Affaires an der amerikanischen Botschaft in St. Petersburg den Sturm auf das Winterpalais erlebt und sich von diesem Schrecken zeit seines Lebens nicht mehr erholt hatte. In späteren Jahren war er am Aufbau des amerikanischen Geheimdienstes maßgeblich beteiligt und im zweiten Weltkrieg als Abteilungsleiter im Office of Strategic Services (OSS) – dem Vorläufer der CIA – an der Seite von Allan Dulles tätig, der seinerseits 1953 die Leitung dieser letztgenannten, berüchtigten Organisation übernahm. Man darf als sicher annehmen, daß interessierte Stellen Joseph Grew dazu veranlaßten, sich just in diesem Augenblick seines alten Kumpanen zu erinnern, denn es war höheren Orts von vornherein vorgesehen, der zu gründenden „privaten“ Organisation geheimdienstliche Funktionen zu übertragen.

## Geburtsstunde im Apartment 300

Grew und Pool ließen nun Einladungen an eine Zahl ausgewählter Persönlichkeiten zur Gründungssitzung eines Gremiums ergehen, das nach einstimmigem Beschluß die Bezeichnung NATIONAL COMMITTEE FREE EUROPE erhielt.

Die konstituierende Versammlung

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100070001-5

fand am 1. Juni 1949 in New York im Empire State Building, 300. Stockwerk, statt. Erschienen war so ziemlich alles, was im offenen und versteckten Kampf gegen die Sowjetunion und andere sozialistische Länder gewütet hatte. Allen voran Spionageboß Allan Dulles, Mitglied des Vorstandes der New Yorker Filiale der pronazistischen Londoner Schroeder-Bank, der bekanntlich von seiner OSS-Zentrale in Bern noch gegen Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges mit Sendboten des SS-Chefs Himmler Verbindungen aufgenommen und sich um Abschluß eines Separatfriedens mit Nazi-Deutschland bemüht hatte. Allan Dulles wurde bald darauf zum Präsidenten des Exekutiv-ausschusses des National Committee Free Europe berufen – ein weiteres Anzeichen dafür, daß die neugegründete Institution dazu ausersehen war, als verlängerter Arm des amerikanischen Geheimdienstes zu operieren. Nicht weniger symptomatisch war die Mitwirkung John McCloy's, der von Anbeginn an zu der Spitzengruppe von Politikern gehörte, die den Fahrplan und die Marschroute für „Free Europe“ festlegten. McCloy, der während des Krieges

den Rang eines Unterstaatssekretärs im Kriegsministerium bekleidete, hatte bereits zu jener Zeit Grundsätze einer Nachkriegspolitik gegenüber dem geschlagenen Nazi-Deutschland aufgestellt, die im krassen Gegensatz zu den Vereinbarungen von Jalta und Potsdam standen und auf die Restauration des deutschen Imperialismus als antibolschewistische Bastion abzielten.

Selbst ehemaliger Corporationsanwalt und juristischer Berater der maßgebenden amerikanischen Monopole, stand er in enger Verbindung mit der Clique führender Bankiers, die wie die Chefs von Dillon, Read & Co. und Brown, Harriman & Brothers bereits nach dem ersten Weltkrieg der daniederliegenden deutschen Rüstungsindustrie mit Anleihen und Krediten wieder auf die Beine geholfen und die ihre engen Geschäftsverbindungen auch mit dem faschistischen Deutschland weiter aufrecht erhalten hatten.

In einem Interview mit der in Chicago erscheinenden (inzwischen eingegangenen) Zeitung „PM“ hatte McCloy erklärt, daß die bisherigen Nachkriegspläne für Deutschland, wie sie in Potsdam umrissen wurden, nicht zur Verwirklichung kommen würden. Seine enge Verbindung mit dem Hause Rockefeller dokumentiert

seine Tätigkeit als juristischer Berater der Schroeder-Bank, als deren Direktor er seit 1953 tätig ist. Von 1947 bis 1949 nahm er den Posten eines Präsidenten der International Finance Corporation ein und war in dieser Eigenschaft mit Erfolg darum bemüht, eine Sozialisierung der Ruhrindustrie zu verhindern und den Hilterschen Wehrwirtschaftsführern und Kriegsverbrechern die Rückkehr zu den alten Kommandostellen zu ermöglichen.

Noch bedeutsamer aber ist, daß McCloy bei der Ernennung von General Lucius D. Clay zum Militärgouverneur in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone seine Hand im Spiel hatte und auf Clays Entscheidungen während dessen Amtszeit unheilvollen bestimmenden Einfluß ausübte. Es ist daher auch nicht verwunderlich, daß General Clay sogleich nach seiner Rückkehr aus Westdeutschland im Jahre 1949 eine Schlüsselposition im Komitee bezog, das inzwischen die Form einer Gesellschaft öffentlichen Rechts angenommen hatte und sich jetzt FREE EUROPE, INCORPORATED nannte.

Eine

### „tödliche Stimme“

Auf Clay geht die Gründung eines anderen Komitees, „Kreuzzug für die Freiheit“, zurück, dessen Leitung er übernahm. Organisatorisch wurde es als Dachorganisation über Free Europe, Incorporated gestellt. Erwiesen ist ebenfalls, daß Clay das Projekt eines amerikanischen Senders in München noch während seiner Tätigkeit als Militärgouverneur eifrig verfolgte und die ersten praktischen Schritte zu seiner Verwirklichung unternahm, bevor noch im Juli 1949 ein Unterausschuß von Free Europe, Incorporated einen entsprechenden Beschluß faßte.

Clay hat in seinem Buch „Entscheidung in Deutschland“ ganz offen da-

mit der Entwicklung zu volksdemokratischen Staaten in der Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn, Bulgarien und Rumänien zu einer Verschiebung des strategischen Gleichgewichts zuungunsten des Westens geführt habe und die „Freie Welt“ sich mit dieser Lage nicht abfinden dürfte. So hatte Clay, einer der verbottenen kalten Krieger jener Jahre, in einem „Emigrantenband“, der in unmittelbarer Nähe der CSSR stationiert werden sollte, schon damals ein Instrument gesehen, um den Boden für die Konterrevolution und den Sturz der Volksherrschaft zu bereiten. Von General Clay stammen dann auch markige Worte, mit denen er sich über die Mission von Free Europe und des Münchener Senders ausließ: „Das Komitee Freies Europa und RFE führen einen unbarmherzigen, durch nichts aufzuhaltenden psychologischen Krieg, der sich auf ein Ziel richtet: Sturz des Kommunismus.“ Und speziell mit Bezug auf RADIO FREE EUROPE: „Wir brauchen eine andere Stimme, eine Stimme, die möglichst wenig vom Status des Staates als solchem geregelt wird, und, wenn man so will, eine harte und tödlich treffende Stimme!“

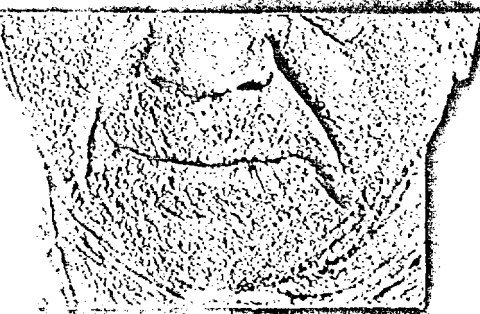
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- o Mit dem Klingelbeutel
- o Mit Gasballons



REF #24  
2 JUNE 1972

STATINTL



# Gift im Englischen Garten

Ermittlungen  
über Fliegergründe und  
Fliegermänner von  
RADIO FREE EUROPE (RFE)

Tatsachenbericht  
von  
Georg Hönigsmann

**D**er

polnische Kundschafter

Hauptmann Czechowicz ist aus München in die polnische Heimat nicht mit leeren Händen zurückgekehrt. In seinem Gepäck führte er zahlreiche Originaldokumente mit, die einen genauen Einblick in die Spionage-

und Diversionstätigkeit des Senders FREE EUROPE gestatten. Aus ihnen geht hervor, daß in allen Außenstellen nach demselben System verfahren wird, wie wir es im Falle der Wiener INTORA kennenlernten. Beispielsweise befinden sich unter diesen Dokumenten „Rapporte“ – wie sie intern genannt werden – des Agenten „K 5“, die über seine sich

gen zu dem ehemaligen Sekretär der Polnischen Botschaft in Rom, Marian Wielgosz, Auskunft geben, den er schließlich zum Verrat an der Heimat anstiften konnte. Vermutlich hatten zwischen Wielgosz und der CIA schon vor seiner Entsendung nach Rom Kontakte bestanden, denn es heißt in dem ersten, aus dem Jahre 1957 stammenden Bericht: „Nach seiner Ankunft hat er mich („K 5“) angerufen und ein Treffen in einem Restaurant vorgeschlagen. Nach vorheriger Benachrichtigung entsprechender Personen habe ich mich bereit erklärt unter der Bedingung, daß er einverstanden ist, mein Gast zu sein. Wielgosz hat keine Vorschläge gemacht und sich sehr anständig (!) verhalten; nur einmal fragte er, ob er mir in irgendeiner Angelegenheit helfen könnte. Ich dankte und schlug ihm dafür jegliche Unterstützung für den Fall vor, wenn er sich entscheiden würde...“

Zwölf Jahre danach hat diese schmutzige Angelegenheit den vorausgerechneten Abschluß gefunden. Wir zitieren aus dem Originalschriftstück auszugsweise:

„Vertraulich – Büro Rom (Michael Wilson)  
Wilson)

Rom, 21. August 1969

RO 5583/K 5 – Polen

Treffen mit Marian Wielgosz

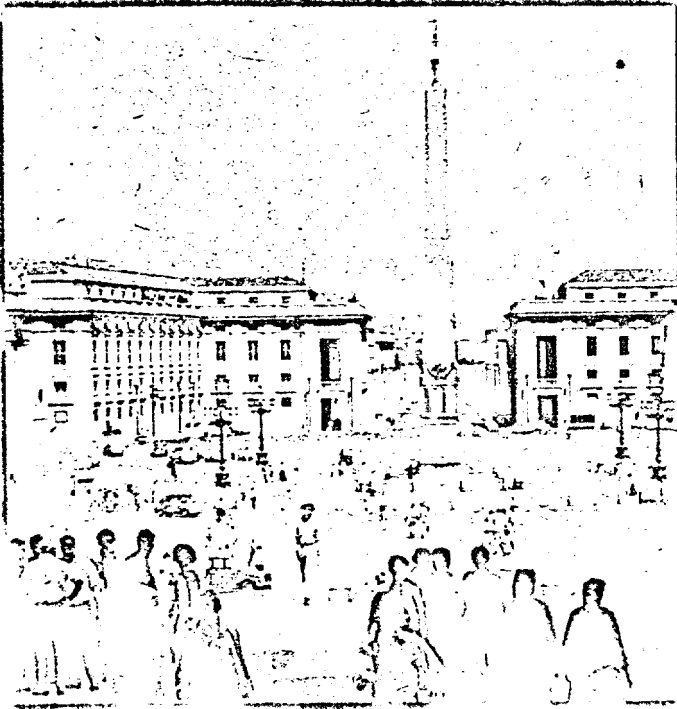
Sicherheitsquelle: (Spalte nicht ausgefüllt – die Red.)

Bemerkung des Berichterstatters: Die zusätzliche Kopie des beigefügten Rapports muß an Herrn Jan Nowak, Direktor der Polnischen Sektion (von RFE, die Red.), gesandt werden.

Dieser Rapport faßt das dreistündige Treffen mit Herrn Marian Wielgosz, ehemaliger Sekretär der Polnischen Kommunistischen Botschaft, ... gegenwärtig in Emigration unter dem Schutz der HIAS zusammen.“

In den folgenden vier Seiten des Rapports wird über die Unterhaltung zwischen Agent „K 5“ und Wielgosz minutiös Rechenschaft gelegt. Zunächst werden noch einmal die einzelnen Stationen aufgeführt, die zwischen der ersten Kontaktaufnahme mit „K 5“ und dem endgültigen Übertritt Wielgosz' in das Lager des Feindes liegen. Dann folgt eine genaue Beschreibung seiner familiären Verhältnisse. Detaillierte Angaben über seine Frau und seinen Sohn und

## 2. Teil



Was passiert mit „K 5“ in Rom?

dessen Pläne, in Rom sein Studium zu Ende zu führen und dort eine seiner Qualifikation entsprechende Anstellung zu finden. Diese Angaben zur Person Wielgocz' enthalten alle „schwachen Punkte“, die den amerikanischen Geheimdienst in die Lage versetzen, den Abtrünnigen, wenn immer erforderlich, unter Druck zu setzen und ihm jede Möglichkeit zur Umkehr zu verlegen. Anschließend werden sämtliche Personen aufgeführt, mit denen W. während seiner diplomatischen Tätigkeit in Rom in engere Verbindung getreten war und die für die CIA und ihre Informationssammelstelle RFE von Interesse sein könnten. Den Hauptteil des Rapports nehmen die nachrichtendienstlich ergiebigen Auskünfte ein, die der Kontakt mit W. erbrachte. Schließlich werden in der VR Polen ansässige Personen genannt, die sich nach W.'s Auffassung zu einer Kontaktaufnahme eignen würden.

### Auf geheimen Wegen

Das System ist eingefahren und hat sich seit den Tagen, als eine Maria Dvorakova ihre Tätigkeit in der

Münchener Zentrale von RFE aufgab und in ihre tschechoslowakische Heimat zurückfand, kaum verändert. Damals gab sie in Prag eine Erklärung ab, in der es hieß: „In der sogenannten Informationsabteilung, wo ich seit Anbeginn gearbeitet habe, wurden Nachrichten abgeschrieben, die teils aus Verhören mit Flüchtlingen stammten, teils auf „geheimen Wegen“, d. h. mit Hilfe der geläufigen Spionagemethoden, zu uns gelangt waren. Die Zentrale dieser Tätigkeit befindet sich in München. Hier laufen die Nachrichten zusammen, welche alle übrigen Spionage-Zweigstellen liefern. Jede dieser Zweigstellen hat eine Decknummer, unter der sie ihre Nachrichten an die Münchener Zentrale einschickt. Die dort einlangenden Nachrichten haben ausnahmslos Spionagecharakter, mag es sich um militärische Nachrichten handeln, für die das größte Interesse vorhanden ist, oder um Nachrichten wirtschaftlicher und politischer Natur. Jede Nachricht wurde mit der Nummer des Agenten versehen, von dem sie stammt. Ich selbst habe außer Nachrichten aus der CSSR auch Spionagematerial aus Polen und Rumänien bearbeitet.“

## Selbstmord – keine Ausnahme

Die Erlebnisberichte des polnischen Kundschafters Andrzej Czechowicz verdeutlichen zugleich Methoden und Praktiken, wie sie von der CIA in enger Zusammenarbeit mit dem BRD-Nachrichtendienst (BND) angewendet werden, um „Flüchtlinge“, von denen nicht wenige ihre Heimat infolge einer Kurzschlußreaktion verlassen haben, zu Agenten zu pressen. Czechowicz hat das am eigenen Leib erfahren. Bekanntlich hatte der heute 35jährige seine Mission 1962 aufgenommen, nachdem er sich – nach erfolgreicher Beendigung eines Geschichtsstudiums an der Universität Warschau – den polnischen Sicherheitsorganen zur Verfügung gestellt und den Auftrag erhalten hatte, Zentren der politischen und ideologischen Subversion in den Ländern des NATO-Blocks zu erkunden.

Zur Erfüllung seines Auftrags hatte er einen Weg gewählt, den abtrünnige Landsleute des öfteren schon vor ihm beschritten hatten: Er begab sich auf legale Weise nach England, unterbrach aber die Heimreise in Köln, meldete sich bei der BRD-Polizei und teilte ihr seinen Entschluß mit, nicht mehr nach Polen zurückkehren zu wollen; er ersuchte um „politisches Asyl“, wurde daraufhin festgenommen und einige Tage in das Auffanglager für Überläufer aus den sozialistischen Ländern in Zirndorf bei Nürnberg eingeliefert. Dort teilte Czechowicz einen zellenähnlichen, schmutzigen Raum in einer Holzbaracke mit sieben anderen Landsleuten, die dort bereits seit mehreren Monaten festgehalten wurden. Sie beklagten sich über unzureichende Ernährung, mangelhafte sanitäre Verhältnisse und machten, einen völlig abgestumpften Eindruck. Sie seien, wie sie selbst erklärten, von den täglichen, viele Stunden währenden Verhören „geschafft“. Czechowicz selbst wurde bereits einen Tag nach seiner Einlieferung von einem BRD-Geheimdienst-Offizier ausgefragt, und da er ein „interessanter Fall“ zu sein versprach, an seinen amerikanischen Kollegen, einen US-Offizier ukrainisch-polnischer Abstammung, weitergereicht. Dieser CIA-Agent hatte darüber zu entscheiden, wem das von den Lagerinsassen begehrte Prädikat

continued

Viele, ja die Mehrzahl der Lagerinsassen waren gar nicht in der Lage, Auskünfte zu erteilen, die für die CIA von Wichtigkeit sein konnten. Da aber die amerikanischen Schnüffler von der Annahme ausgehen, der „Flüchtling“ halte mit Bedacht wesentliche Informationen zurück, nahmen die Verhöre inquisitorischen Charakter an. Kam der amerikanische Geheimdienst schließlich zu dem Schluß, dem „Flüchtling“ das politische Asylrecht zu verweigern, so sah sich der Betroffene einer hoffnungslosen Zukunft gegenüber. Lieferten die Flüchtlinge nichts, dann sollten sie eben sehen, wo sie blieben.

Andrzej Czechowicz erwähnt den Fall der Polin Dworniczak: Als sie die Mitteilung erhalten hatte, daß ihr „politisches Asylrecht“ nicht zugestanden werde, nahm sie eine Überdosis Schlaftabletten und machte ihrem jungen Leben ein Ende. Selbstmorde im Lager Zirndorf sind keine Ausnahmerecheinung. In der „Neuen Rhein-Ruhr-Zeitung“ konnte man lesen: „FREE EUROPE unterhält im Nürnberger Lager ein Büro. Nach Methoden des Geheimdienstes beschafft man sich dort bei den ausländischen Flüchtlingen und oft zwielichtigen Emigranten die nötigen Informationen. Dabei wird kein Wert auf Stichhaltigkeit gelegt.“

# P

an Nowak  
hat immer recht

Hauptmann Czechowicz freilich war darauf geeicht, seine Aushorcher zufriedenzustellen. Er lieferte fingierte militärische und politische Informationen, die dem Verhörer so bedeutsam erschienen, daß er sie sofort an eine weitere Sammelstelle des US-Spionagedienstes in Oberursel bei Frankfurt am Main weiterleitete. Außerdem brachte er Czechowicz - was für dessen weiteres Wirken noch wichtiger war - mit dem im Lager stationierten Korrespondenten des „Polish desk“ (der polnischen Redaktion) von RADIO FREE EUROPE in Verbindung. Dieser wiederum empfahl Czechowicz an den Leiter der polnischen Sektion der Münchner Zentrale, an den bereits erwähnten Jan Nowak, seinen späteren Chef. Aber selbst die „Auserwählten“, denen schließlich die „Identification Card“ von FREE EUROPE, Division of FREE EUROPE, Inc. aus-

gehändigt wird, werden bald merken, wie es um die „Freiheit“ bestellt ist, die bei FREE EUROPE praktiziert wird. Sie bleiben Gefangene unter der Fuchtel Nowaks, den Czechowicz als den „Typ eines amerikanischen Gangsters“ beschreibt, der mit seinen Untergebenen nach Gutdünken umspringt. „Wer mit Pan Nowak in einen Disput gerät, ist erledigt.“ Czechowicz erwähnt den Fall des polnischen Schauspielers Janusz Koryzma, der nach einem Streit mit Nowak seine Stelle verlor. Aber damit nicht genug, veranlaßte Nowak seine Verhaftung und spätere Einweisung in eine Heilstätte für Geistes- kranke in der Nähe von Straßburg. Schließlich aber ist auch Nowak nur ein winziges Rädchen in einem gigantischen, Tag und Nacht auf Hoch- touren laufenden Spionage- und Diversions-Apparat. Wer sind die Konstrukteure, wer die „Meister“, die ihn in Gang halten?

## L

esen Sie  
im nächsten Heft:

- Im Appartement 300
- Eine „Tödliche Stimme“

Nr. 14132

DATE ISSUED  
AUSSTELLUNGSDATUM  
JUN - 1 1956

RADIO FREE EUROPE  
DIVISION OF FREE EUROPE INC.  
IDENTIFICATION CARD

NAME Andrzej CZECHOWICZ

CITIZENSHIP  
STAATSANGEH. Stateless

TITLE  
TITEL Researcher

OFFICE  
DIENSTSTELLE Munich

SIGNATURE  
UNTERSCHRIFT *[Signature]*

COUNTERSIGNED BY SECURITY OFFICER  
GEGENZEICHNUNG DES SICHERH.-OFFIZIERS

DATE OF BIRTH GEBURTSDATUM	HEIGHT GROSSE	WEIGHT GEWICHT	HAIR HAARFARBE	EYES AUGENFARBE
27 Aug 37	172cm	65kg	brown	brown

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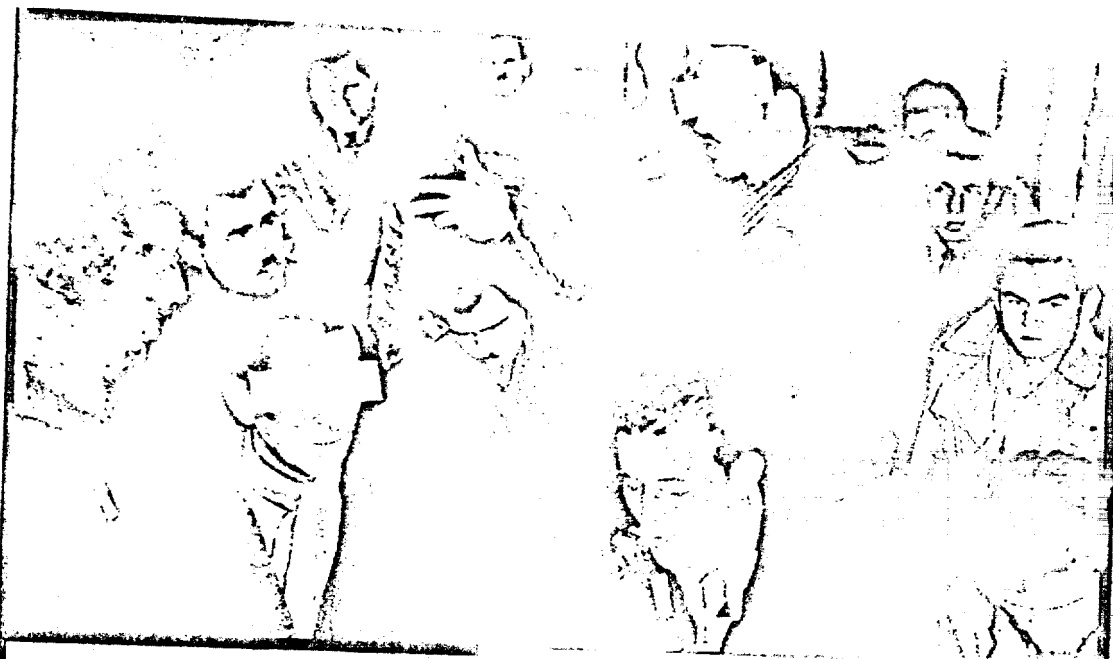
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↑ Gewann als RFE-„Mitarbeiter“ jahrelang besten Einblick in die innere Struktur von RFE:  
Hauptmann der Aufklärungsabteilung im polnischen Innenministerium Andrzej Czechowicz.

Sie lassen ihre verführten Opfer eiskalt „über die Klinge springen“: die Direktoren der Hetzsendungen in Tschechoslowakisch, Polnisch und Bulgarisch (v. l. n. r.: Julius Fist, Jan Nowak und Milio Mileff) bei der Programmberatung.

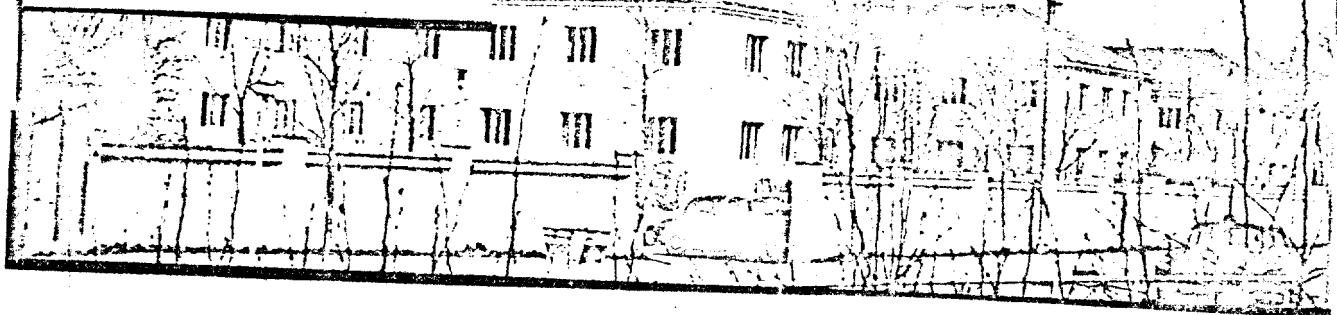
werst  
wer?

werst  
wo?



↑ Selbstmorde keine Seltenheit  
im Lager: Erst verführt,  
dann verraten und verkauft,  
schließlich dem gegen-  
seitigen Haß überlassen.

→ Teilansicht der  
Redaktionsgebäude: RFE-Komplex  
in München



June 1972 ?

## hne Firmenschild in Wien

Auf einem bescheidenen Messingschild am Hause Webgasse 43, Maria Hilfer Bezirk, Wien, steht zu lesen: INTORA, ABSATZ- & MARKTFORSCHUNG, 2. Stiege links. Mehrfaches, anhaltendes Läuten bleibt unbeantwortet.

„Die sind nicht mehr hier“, lautet die karge Antwort des Hausmeisters.

„Wohin?“

Das kann er nicht sagen. Doch weitere Ermittlungen ergeben, daß die Leitung der Firma sich entschlossen hat, aus der lärmenden City zu verschwinden und sich in der ländlichen Stille eines Außenbezirks, dem abgelegenen Penzing, niederzulassen. Hadikgasse 52 lautet die neue Adresse. Aber das fragliche Haus – ein dreistöckiger nüchterner Neubau – trägt kein Nummernschild. Betreten kann man es nur von der seitlich abbiegenden Gyrowetzgasse.

Im neuen Heim hat man auf das Firmenschild ganz verzichtet. Wer nicht weiß, daß Herr Helmut Aigner der Chef von INTORA ist – sein Name ist auf dem „Stummen Portier“ eingetragen –, kehrt unverrichteter Sache wieder um. Verbindung mit Wohnungsinhaber Aigner vermittelt am Hauseingang eine Sprechanlage, und die sie bedienende Weiblichkeit meldet erst nach verschiedenen Rückfragen, daß Herr Aigner, obwohl stark beschäftigt den Besucher zu empfangen bereit ist.

Herr Aigner, der auch im Zimmer eine randlose, dunkelglasige Brille trägt, ist wenig mitteilend. Soviel läßt er sich nur entlocken: Sein privates Unternehmen betreibt die Ankurbelung von Geschäften im osteuropäischen Raum, vornehmlich mit der „Tschechoslowakei“ – wie er die CSSR bezeichnet –, aber auch mit anderen Volksdemokratien. Daraus erklärt er sich auch, daß er nur Leute, die mindestens eine osteuropäische Sprache beherrschen, beschäftigen, darunter auch den einen oder anderen „Emigranten“. Politik interessiert INTORA nicht im geringsten. Aus den stahlgerahmten Fenstern in Aigners Arbeitszimmer hat man einen freien Blick auf das Gebäude der CSSR-Gesandtschaft.



## lick: „Bitte sprechen Sie!“

Verzichtet man auf eine Zusammenkunft mit INTORA-Chef Aigner und wählt statt dessen die Telefonnummer 82 51 02 – die nicht im Telefonbuch steht, aber vom wißbegierigen Reporter herausgefunden wurde –, so hat man ein seltsames Erlebnis: Klick – darauf spricht eine angenehm dunkle Frauenstimme vom Tonband: „Guten Tag. Hier spricht der Telefonaufnahmedienst der Firma INTORA. Geben Sie Ihre Mitteilung durch. Wir werden gegebenenfalls zurückrufen. Sie werden auf Tonband aufgenommen. Ihre Sprechzeit beträgt 45 Sekunden. Bitte geben Sie die Zeit an, zu der Sie anrufen. Achtung! Bitte jetzt sprechen!“ Klick.

Der unnachgiebige Reporter, dem es gelungen war, die Geheimnummer von INTORA herauszubekommen – sie wurde seitdem verändert –, gab sich indessen mit dieser Entdeckung nicht zufrieden. Er unternahm weitere Erkundungen, um hinter das Geheimnis des mysteriösen Absatz- und Marktforschungsinstituts zu kommen. Da fiel ihm auf: Tag für Tag bevor der Praha-Wien-Express auf dem Wiener Bahnhof einläuft, erscheinen auf dem Bahnsteig immer wieder dieselben undurchsichtigen Gestalten, denen trotz krampfhafter Bemühung, nicht aufzufallen, innere Unruhe und Nervosität deutlich anzumerken sind. Rollt dann der Zug in die Halle, verteilen sie sich auf die einzelnen Waggons, mustern mit prüfenden Blicken die Aussteigenden, um sich dann an einen heranzumachen, der ihren Absichten dienlich sein könnte, und reden in tschechischer Sprache hastig auf ihn ein. Sie ergreifen mitunter auch seinen Koffer und weichen nicht von seiner Seite.

Das alles geht in solcher Eile vor sich, daß Verwandte und Bekannte des Betreffenden gar nicht dazu kommen, ihren Besuch in die Arme zu schließen, bevor noch der Fremde seine ersten „marktforschenden“ Kontakte herstellen konnte. Ehe er sich schließlich verabschiedet, überreicht er dem Gast aus Prag verstohlen einen kleinen Zettel mit seiner Telefonnummer

und Anschrift. Er sei ja ein Landsmann, wie er sagt, der vor ein paar Jahren die Heimat aus rein persönlichen Gründen verlassen hätte. Wie es jetzt da wohl ausschauen würde? Das könnte man sich doch bei einem gemütlichen Plausch im Kaffeehaus erzählen lassen.

Ähnliche Szenen konnte der Reporter auch bei Ankunft des aus Warschau kommenden „Chopin“-Express beobachten. Und nicht viel anders geht es auf Wiens Flughafen zu, wenn die Maschinen der Česko-Slovenske Air-Lines aufsetzen, oder am Donau-Kai, wo die schmucke „Tschaika“ aus Budapest anlegt.

„Besuch empfangen“ wird diese Tätigkeit im Dienstreglement von INTORA genannt, denn es bereitet dem Reporter nicht allzu große Schwierigkeiten, festzustellen, daß die aufdringlichen Herren auf den Bahnsteigen, Flugplätzen und an den Dampferanlegstellen im Dienste von Chef Aigner stehen. Das sogenannte „Interview“ ist dann der nächste Schritt, den der INTORA-Mann arrangieren muß, der Treff mit dem „Landsmann“.



## „Landsmann“

Freilich, Chef Aigner ist seinen Angestellten gegenüber nicht allzu vertrauensselig, und zur Kontrolle, ob die Interviews auch tatsächlich stattfinden und nicht der Phantasie der Mitarbeiter entspringen, hat er die Sache mit der telefonischen Meldung, die auf Tonband registriert wird, eingeführt. Daher taucht zur abgesprochenen Zeit und am angegebenen Orte ein zweiter INTORA-Mann ganz unauffällig auf, um festzustellen, ob die Sache auch wirklich in Ordnung geht.

Der „Landsmann“ aber, der zu dem Treff meist aus purer Neugier erschienen ist, ist höchst erstaunt, daß die Unterhaltung über die alte Heimat eine ganz andere Wendung nimmt,

Continued

als er erwartet hatte. Nachdem er erst ein paar Belanglosigkeiten von sich gegeben hat, produziert sein neuer Bekannter einen umfangreichen Fragebogen, 24 Seiten stark, und geht Frage auf Frage mit ihm durch. Was man da nicht alles von ihm wissen möchte: genaue Adresse – Alter – Familienstand – Schulbildung – Beruf – Religion – seine Bekannten – in welcher Eigenschaft hält er sich in Österreich auf, als Privatmann oder im dienstlichen Auftrag; im ersten Fall: wer und was sind seine Verwandten oder Freunde, die er aufsucht in dieser Stadt?; im anderen Fall: was ist der Zweck seines Aufenthaltes? Ist er Mitglied einer offiziellen Delegation? Eines künstlerischen Ensembles? Angehöriger eines Sportklubs? usw. Beabsichtigt er, wieder in die Heimat zurückzukehren? Und wenn ja: ist er bereit, den Kontakt mit dem neuen „Freund“ aufrechtzuerhalten?

## Seltsame Neugier

Da es sich ja um einen tschechischen Landsmann handelt, holt der INTORA-Mann noch einen Zusatz-Fragebogen hervor, der seltsamerweise „Special Czech/Slovak Questionnaire“ überschrieben ist. Dieser bezeugt einen recht eigenartigen Wissensdurst der Fragesteller: „Welchen drei Personen in der ČSSR – unabhängig von ihrer augenblicklichen Position – bringen Sie das größte Interesse entgegen? Wie groß ist Ihr Vertrauen zu Husak: in fast jeder Hinsicht? – begrenzt? – kein Vertrauen?“ Und weiter im Text: „Was ist Ihrer Meinung nach heute das Schlimmste in der Tschechoslowakei? Was halten Sie vom XIV. Parteitag der KPTsch? Lehnen Sie ihn ab? Begrüßen Sie ihn? Ist er Ihnen gleichgültig?“

Und schließlich noch gezieltere Fragen wie diese: „Wie ist die Lage in Ihrem Betrieb? Was sind die Gründe für etwaige Unzufriedenheit? Welche Möglichkeiten bestehen, einen Streik zu organisieren?“

## Konterrevolution durch Television

Können auf Grund des bereits Gesagten kaum noch Zweifel über den zwielichtigen, das heißt recht eindeutigen Charakter des Aignerschen Absatz- und Marktforschungsinstituts bestehen, so lassen sich noch eindeutiger Rückschlüsse aus der Dunkel-männer-Existenz einiger seiner regelmäßigen Besucher ziehen.

Der Konterrevolutionär Jiří Pelikan ist einer von ihnen – ehemaliger Intendant des Prager Fernsehfunks, der im Jahr 1968 dieses Massenmedium auf den Kurs der Konterrevolution brachte, alle parteilichen und prinzipienfesten Mitarbeiter, einen nach dem andern, hinausdrängte, bis das Haus schließlich zur Bastion der putschentschlossenen Frondeure und ihrer ausländischen Hintermänner wurde. „Revolution durch Television“, diese Losung hatte Pelikan selbst ausgegeben. Als jedoch der ferngesteuerte Aufstand dank der Hilfe der Truppen der Warschauer Paktstaaten gar nicht erst um sich greifen konnte, verdingte sich Pelikan an den amerikanischen Spionagedienst. In seinem Auftrag reist Pelikan jetzt regelmäßig nach Wien, wo ihn sein Weg bei jedem Aufenthalt zur Hadikgasse 52 führt.

Fast täglich läßt sich dort auch eine stets nach neuester Mode gekleidete, nicht mehr ganz junge Dame sehen, die sich Vera Alföldi nennt und als leitende Mitarbeiterin im ständigen Wiener Büro von RADIO FREE EUROPE beschäftigt ist.

## Bückenkopf im Englischen Garten

Das Stichwort ist gefallen: RADIO FREE EUROPE. Darunter hatte der Nichteingeweihte bisher den in München stationierten amerikanischen Hetszsender verstanden, der rund um die Uhr 24 Stunden mit aufwiegeler Propaganda die sozialistischen Staaten der ČSSR, Polens, Ungarns,

Rumäniens und Bulgariens berieselt. Doch seit den sensationellen Enthüllungen des polnischen Kundschafters Hauptmann Andrzej Czechowicz, der sich sechs Jahre lang im Auftrag der polnischen Sicherheitsorgane im Münchner Hauptquartier des Senders einquartierte, ist allgemein bekannt, daß die Sendetätigkeit nur einen, allerdings sehr bedeutsamen Zweig der Aktivitäten von RFE darstellt. RADIO FREE EUROPE ist ein Knotenpunkt im weltweit verzweigten Spionagesystem der amerikanischen Central Intelligence Agency, kurz CIA genannt. RADIO FREE EUROPE hat einen festen Platz in der Struktur der amerikanischen Globalstrategie und ist im NATO-Block-System fest verankert. Außenstellen in Wien, Westberlin, Frankfurt am Main, Bonn, Brüssel, London, Paris, Rom, Madrid, Stockholm, Istanbul und Athen, um nur die wichtigsten zu nennen, füttern in ununterbrochenem Strom die RFE-Zentrale im Englischen Garten Nr. 1, einem weißgetünchten, nüchternen Gebäude, das eher einem Krankenhaus ähnelt. Zur Sammlung von „Inside Information“ bedient sich RFE zahlreicher, angeblich der Meinungs-, Markt- oder Absatzforschung dienender Institute. Auch die Firma INTORA ist ein Stützpunkt in diesem Netz. Achtzig Prozent der aus solchen Quellen stammenden Berichte werden ausschließlich für die CIA ausgewertet; nur zwanzig Prozent gehen in die Sendungen von RFE ein. In München wird eine Kartei über „interessante“ tschechoslowakische Persönlichkeiten geführt. Die aus dieser Kartei gelieferten Informationen, Statistiken, Analysen usw. werden auf Lochkarten übertragen, nach Washington transferiert und dem Computersystem der CIA einverleibt.

Lesen Sie im nächsten Heft:

- Gespräch mit K5
- Selbstmord
- Pan Nowak hat immer recht

JUN 1972

For two decades, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have been beaming a message of hope and truth to millions behind the Iron Curtain. Now, because of a move in the U.S. Senate to cut off funds, the message may fade into silence

## Let's Save These Voices of Freedom!

BY RALPH KINNEY BENNETT

FROM a Polish industrial town, a laborer writes to Radio Free Europe: "You are the only source of truth. If it weren't for you, we wouldn't know anything. Everybody listens to RFE."

In Czechoslovakia, a young man risks arrest to write: "I have listened to RFE since I was a child. Today I am 22, and for most of what I know about the world I have you to thank. Your broadcasts have been my only window on the world."

From the Soviet Union, a scientist secretly sends a message: "Radio Liberty is what a Russian station would be like if we had freedom of speech."

High praise, and all from behind the Iron Curtain. Yet—surprisingly—in Washington, D.C., Sen. J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.), chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, takes a different view. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, he charges, are "keeping alive the animosities which grew up after World War II." Both stations, he says, should "take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold-war relics."

"Source of truth" or "cold-war relics"—what are the facts about these two stations?

In the Vernacular. After World War II, as the world watched, an Iron Curtain descended on Eastern Europe. The Berlin blockade and the Soviet seizure of Czechoslovakia were part of the grim succession of

events which by 1950 had shut off 100 million people in Eastern Europe and 200 million people in Russia from any free communication with the West.

Many concerned Americans, in and out of government, asked themselves how the West could respond. Should these people be abandoned, forgotten? The consensus was no: continuing contact was essential. And the best, most tireless vehicle was radio.

Radio Free Europe went on the air in July 1950, broadcasting from Munich. From a modest beginning, it expanded coverage to beam spot news, popular music, cultural programs and commentary an average of 16 hours a day to listeners in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria—in their own language, by nationals who had fled their homeland.

The founder—and current chairman—of Radio Free Europe is Gen. Lucius D. Clay, whose experiences with the Russians as post-war commander of U.S. forces in Europe had demonstrated the need for such a voice of hope. He wanted RFE to be as much as possible outside the realm of government—speaking to the people in their own vernacular—rather than a "national" service like the Voice of America or the BBC's Overseas Service.

In March 1953, another American station began broadcasting from Munich, direct to the Soviet Union. Now known as Radio Liberty, this station is independent of RFE, but

the two have evolved very similar philosophies.

Both grew up in a world in which propaganda was the norm: a period of threat and counterthreat in an international atmosphere of raw tension. The staffs of the two stations, many of whom had fled communist oppression, found it difficult to remain cool and detached journalists. But in the relative thaw following Stalin's death in 1953, Radio Liberty began modifying its stance of "implacable struggle against the communist dictatorship until its complete destruction." Increasingly, programming was directed not at toppling the Kremlin leadership but at enlightening the people, giving them the news—local as well as worldwide—withheld from them by their own media, educating them to the democratic alternative, breaking through the distrust of the West.

In the wake of the tragic, abortive Hungarian revolt in 1956, RFE was accused of abetting the Hungarian patriots' bloody resistance by raising false hopes of U.S. intervention. However, the West German government, which licenses the two American stations, examined tapes of all the programming during the revolt and branded the charges as false.

Over the years the stations have been characterized by, as one expert puts it, "friendliness, enlightenment, dignity." Journalists around the world praise their restraint and objectivity. Listeners agree.

The communist regimes, of course, take a different view. Just ten

minutes after Radio Liberty went on the air in 1953, Moscow began jamming it—broadcasting nerve-racking noise on the same wavelength to drown out the signal. It has not stopped for a minute, and tens of millions of dollars a year are spent on the effort. RFE is still vigorously jammed in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria.

Audience Appeal. Why do these stations enjoy the respect and popularity that they do?

They are, for the communist world, a surrogate free press. Because to them it seems the natural order of things, few Westerners can appreciate the impact of simple, factual news reporting in the communist world. Last fall, Radio Liberty scooped Radio Moscow in announcing Nikita Khrushchev's death. And



24 MAY 1972

## Funding in jeopardy?

# Radio Liberty's Siberian reach

By April Klimley

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

### Taipei, Taiwan Books broadcast

Employees at the Taipei branch of Radio Liberty are worried that all U.S. congressional appropriations for their work will end June 20.

The station, which broadcasts in Russian to the U.S.S.R., came under attack this spring when Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D) of Arkansas accused it of being "a relic of the cold war."

Senator Fulbright's remarks and budget cuts demanded by Congress soon forced Radio Liberty's Taipei staff to face a reduction from 15 to 9, not to mention creating the feeling that the entire operation might be in jeopardy.

The Taipei bureau of Radio Liberty serves as a relay station to Siberia. The staff puts together a two-hour program each day based on scripts and tapes sent from Radio Liberty's Munich, Germany, headquarters.

The news is voiced by two Russian-language native speakers in Taipei. Three transmitters send the program simultaneously for eight hours a day, with one frequency beamed to the Lake Baikal area and the other two aimed at the maritime provinces. This shotgun effect attempts to elude Soviet jamming.

### News events followed

Although the station emphasizes news from Eastern Europe and Russia, there is little blatant propaganda in the daily newscasts. The excerpts from Western newspaper editorials, which follow the news frequently, do not even touch on subjects directly related to the U.S.S.R.

The press review usually concentrates on the big news of the day, such as the invasion of South Vietnam, and newspaper editorials express divergent views. The rest of the show is made up of taped commentaries on cultural, scientific, or political subjects.

Employees of the station deny that their programs are propaganda. One source explained that things have changed since the days when the station called itself "Liberation Radio" and encouraged people to actively oppose their government.

After Western countries failed to respond to the Hungarian revolt of 1956, the station changed its name and began to aim at developing a public opinion within the Soviet Union that could both exert a braking effect on Soviet foreign policy and encourage the government to improve living conditions.

One way the station tries to do this is by broadcasting "samizdats," or self-publications, which are unauthorized writings smuggled out of the U.S.S.R. They are read at dictation speed, chapter by chapter, so that listeners can make copies if they like.

The station broadcast all of Alexander T. Solzhenitsyn's books this way, with the exception of his latest, which is yet to come.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn himself has come to the defense of Radio Liberty. In early April he told a New York Times reporter that "if we hear anything about events in this country, it's through them."

The station transmitted Eugene Ginsberg's book "Noontime" and the court transcripts of the trial of the young poet Vladimir Bukovsky.

Recently the bureau has been broadcasting something on Mr. Solzhenitsyn almost every day. On April 26 it read his New York Times-interview defense against an attack made on the funeral lament he had given for an editor-friend.

He told the Times that it was while listening to Radio Liberty that he first heard of the attack.

### Feedback lacking

Despite its important target area in the far eastern Soviet Union, the Taipei branch of Radio Liberty is considered a country cousin of the metropolitan headquarters in Munich. European relay centers beam programs to the Soviet Union's more populated western cities, and fan letters usually come from these areas.

"They frequently think of closing us down because of this," complained one man close to the Taipei station. He went on to explain that this lack of feedback is probably the result of the fact that mail from Siberia, unlike mail from western Russia, must first go through Moscow before leaving the country.

In the early 1950's Radio Liberty had private income sources. But these have gradually dried up.

### Achievements cited

The people in the Taipei bureau feel they have played a vital part in creating the new intellectual climate visible in the Soviet Union today — so different from that under Stalin. "We're needed now more than ever," one employee insisted.

"Without our broadcasting, things would be even more tragic for people like Solzhenitsyn. For instance, without us very few would have heard his works. They wouldn't know whether the charges against him are true or not. Now he's so well known even inside the country that the government can afford to make him disappear all at once."

In his Times interview Solzhenitsyn readily admitted the Radio Liberty broadcasts help protect him. But solitary achievement like this may not be enough to keep Radio Liberty alive.



# Another Summit: Capital Takes It in Stride

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 18 — With President Nixon's departure for Moscow less than two days away, Washington seems relatively unexcited about his summit session, which may prove the most fruitful of all the postwar Soviet-American meetings.

**Tensions** that were raised  
**News** ordered the min-  
**Analysis** ing of North Viet-  
nam's harbors  
virtually disap-  
peared as soon as

it was clear that the Russians were not going to let support for their Communist ally prevent completion of an agreement on strategic arms and other accords with the United States in Moscow next week.

The sense of mystery that prevailed here before Mr. Nixon's departure for Peking seems almost totally absent today. No summit meeting has been so well publicized as the Moscow one. Congress, the press and the allies have all been told just what to expect in the way of substantive agreements.

Virtually no voices have been heard calling on Mr. Nixon to put off the visit. The dedicated anti-Communists are simply not very visible in Washington any more; they have virtually no patrons on Capitol Hill.

This almost casual acceptance of the Soviet trip does not mean, however, that the Russians are well liked here.

At lunch today, the National Press Club heard a series of speakers deplore the treatment of Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet novelist who cannot publish his works in his own country.

This afternoon, B'nai B'rith, the national Jewish organization, presented the State Department with legislative resolutions and governors' proclamations from 30 states calling on Mr. Nixon to intercede with Soviet leaders on behalf of Jews who want to leave the Soviet Union.

The other day, Mr. Nixon sent Congress a bill aimed at keeping Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe alive so that they could continue to broad-

cast to the Soviet Union and the rest of Eastern Europe.

And even though the Soviet Union is more open than China, Mr. Nixon and his top aides, particularly Henry A. Kissinger, have indicated privately that they find it more pleasant dealing with Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai than with Leonid I. Brezhnev and Aleksei N. Kosygin. The Russians, they believe, are always trying to take advantage of a situation whereas the Chinese seem more reasonable.

## Rivalry Wearing Away

Yet, despite the continuing differences with Moscow, much of the rough edge of the rivalry has been worn away over the years through increasing private and government contacts.

After all, some 60,000 American tourists travel to the Soviet Union each year and thousands of Americans and Soviet scientists, scholars and artists have exchanged visits in the last 15 years.

The Americans and Russians may not like everything they see in each other's country, but the contacts have had the cumulative effect of reducing apprehension.

As recently as 1959, when Mr. Nixon, then Vice President, went to the Soviet Union the first time, there was considerable excitement and an air of adventure about his mission.

"People had come to the airport not just out of curiosity, but because this trip combined all the elements of hope,

mystery, and even fear," Mr. Nixon wrote later in his book "Six Crises" about his departure from Baltimore's international airport for Moscow.

Mr. Nixon recalled playing golf with William P. Rogers, then Attorney General and now Secretary of State, just before that trip.

The caddy was told that Mr. Nixon was flying to Moscow, and he exclaimed, according to the story: "Won't they shoot him down?"

Mr. Nixon's mission in 1959 was to open a large American exhibiton, which was dedicated to proving to Russians that Americans lived on a higher standard than they did.

## Cooperation Now Sought

The United States was concerned that summer about the psychological effect caused by the Soviet lead in the space race; somehow it was reassuring Americans to know that even if the Soviet Union had more sputniks in space, the United States had more washing machines on earth. Those were also the days when Nikita S. Khrushchev was threatening to overtake the United States in economic growth and to "bury" capitalism.

Over the years, the rhetoric has been deflated. Russian leaders no longer talk of competition with the West but of cooperation. The space race that cost both so much money will end if Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev announce plans for joint

docking in space by astronauts from the two countries in 1975.

The arms race will also symbolically die upon an announcement in Moscow of an agreement on limitation of strategic arms. And it is hard to talk about an economic race, when American businessmen are being invited to help develop Siberia's mineral wealth.

This kind of cooperation, only a fantasy of the imagination when Mr. Nixon first visited the Soviet Union, is now treated by the American public as important but not surprising. Politicians who 15 years ago could have been elected on an anti-Communist platform, now must pledge themselves to seek agreements with the Soviet Union.

17 MAY 1972

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## Why silence Radio Liberty?

By Roscoe Drummond

Point  
of  
view

STATINTL

### Washington

Sen. J. W. Fulbright is out to silence Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe for bad reasons.

He has to rely on bad reasons because there are no good reasons.

These two radio stations broadcast news and information to the people of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe which they can't get in any other way. They are located in Munich and they are financed by the United States.

### Total extinction

Senator Fulbright says they ought to be taken off the air on the ground that they are "relics of the cold war," that they disturb relations with Russia, and that they have until recently been supported by the CIA.

Congress has ended CIA financing. It has provided open appropriations, but they run out in six weeks. At that point Mr. Fulbright wants to bring about their total extinction.

This broadcasting is not a "relic of the cold war" and repeating this canard over and over again doesn't make it true.

At the Senator's request the Library of Congress undertook an exhaustive study of the scripts of both Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe and reported that they were definitely not in the mold nor the mood of cold-war propaganda. The report confirmed that they were notably objective and restrained.

Naturally, the Kremlin would like it if no effort

was made anywhere in the free world to give the Soviet peoples any knowledge except that provided by the Soviet Government.

### Approved by censor

But Radio Liberty does not seriously disturb U.S.-Soviet relations. It gives Russians of all nationalities much information about internal affairs, which is otherwise censored by the Kremlin, and provides balance and perspective to events happening outside Russia.

How rigid is the Soviet censorship today? A former Russian journalist, who recently left Moscow for the West, put it this way:

"Not a single thing can be printed in the Soviet Union, whether it be a book or a postage stamp, a newspaper or a label for a bottle, a magazine or a candy-wrapper, unless it has been approved by the censor. No radio transmission is beamed, no public exhibition is opened for public view until an official stamp has approved it."

What makes these broadcasts so valuable now is that in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe — as illustrated by the bold effort of the Czechs to put some democracy into their communism — there is a rising demand among intellectuals and professionals for more freedom of speech and press, for an end to pervasive censorship, and for more government by the consent of the governed.

This is a significant liberalizing-reform movement

and it has found one way to circumvent censorship. That is "samizdat," which is the private circulation of type-written or hand-written protests, petitions, articles, essays and novels. Radio Liberty has already put nearly a thousand of them on the air.

### Expand news flow

Thus Radio Liberty enables the Russian reformists to reach other Russians.

Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe reports debates at the United Nations, including the remarks of the Chinese delegates, which the Soviets censor. They carry the protests of Soviet Jews which Moscow suppresses. They cover the pleas of Soviet citizens to the UN Commission on Human Rights which the Kremlin won't allow to be mailed.

The Soviet people would have only one side of the Czech invasion if it weren't for Radio Liberty. They would never know about Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" or Solzhenitsyn's "The First Circle" if they weren't put on the air by Radio Liberty.

Moscow does not hesitate to export its views in every language. Why shouldn't the U.S. be true to itself and support Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe to further the flow of news and information which is one of democracy's most precious ingredients?

The need is to expand this flow, not black it out. The Senate will vote yea or nay next month.



Fulbright: No time for relics

A modest little pamphlet put out by the U.S. Information Agency ten years ago said that USIA "tells America's story abroad." How simple it seemed: Uncle Sam reciting "Once upon a time in 1776 ..." to an underdeveloped nation on his knee. It's a different story today, as our propaganda machine tries to find the right words and the right tone of voice for a period in which the nation is simultaneously at war, at peace and at odds with itself.

In Washington last week, USIA won approval of its new budget at the current \$200 million level, but only after the Senate restored cuts made in committee that would have reduced the agency's film and print activities and all but dismantled the Voice of America. The authorization squabble grew out of continuing rivalry between Congress and the White House over foreign affairs, and a running feud between USIA director Frank Shakespeare, a conservative former network executive who helped design President Nixon's TV image in the 1968 campaign, and Sen. J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and a critic of USIA since its inception in 1953. While the showdown vote was an Administration victory, it did nothing to clarify such questions as how good or bad our propaganda actually is today, how it should change or evolve in the 1970s, and whether Americans should be able to see and hear it themselves.

Theoretically, the law protects the American public from being propagandized at its own expense by forbidding USIA to show its wares on the home front. Exceptions have been made in recent years, however, and last month, despite objections by Senator Fulbright and others, Sen. James Buckley, the conservative New York Republican, showed a USIA propaganda film about Czechoslovakia on his TV show. After the broadcast, Fulbright's committee passed a measure that would reaffirm and clarify the ban on internal dissemination. Though the measure has no teeth, USIA is playing safe at the moment by withholding all its output from the domestic media until the issue is resolved. The

## Propaganda: What We Say —And How

By Joseph Morgenstern

STATINTL

taxpayers, therefore, are either protected once again from Administration propaganda, or prevented from laying eyes or ears on the stuff for which they're paying \$200 million a year.

What do we really tell our friends and enemies abroad? What effect does it have? "Czechoslovakia: 1968," the Academy Award-winning short that kicked up the fuss on the Buckley show, is an efficient and particularly repellent piece of goods. Starting with sweetly pastoral (and occasionally fake) shots from 1918 and ending with the Soviet invasion of 1968, it reduces 50 years of history to thirteen minutes of short takes and shrewd juxtapositions that make strong appeals to the emotions and sometimes misrepresent history. Newsreel clips of the Soviet Army's liberation of Prague from the Nazis in 1945 are intercut with those of Hitler's occupation, suggesting one was as bad as the other when, in fact, Czech Communists and non-Communists alike greeted the Soviets with open arms. The film has no narration. The only word in it is *svoboda*, Czech for "freedom." The same style is used to comment on the Berlin wall in



USIA's Shakespeare: A need to know

"Barricade." These films are cinematic, all right, but they're also slippery, furtive, and they raise the question of why a nation that's supposed to be open and truthful should rely on subliminal trickery to condemn the conduct of other nations.

"Vietnam! Vietnam!", produced by John Ford at a cost of some \$250,000, proved such an embarrassment in its few public showings abroad that it was withdrawn from circulation and awarded the oblivion it so richly deserved. Belligerently simple-minded, necrophiliac in its frequent close-ups of bloated corpses and mutilated children, the film subtly blames the Democrats for our involvement in Vietnam and makes the antiwar movement look like a pack of craven imbeciles. "The Silent Majority," made in 1969 but still in circulation, is a lumbering tract that makes much of a Gallup poll and reinforces its message of widespread support for the Nixon Administration with a smug, sanctimonious tone that might be worthier of a Salazar or Duvalier administration. Yet USIA, like the nation, speaks in more than one tone of voice. The most popular agency film in recent months is "President Nixon in China—A Journey for Peace." Its narrator, like its star, goes to great lengths to praise Chinese athletes, culture, schoolchildren and snow shovelers.

### American Pastoral

The best of the agency's production of twenty to thirty films each year can be excellent indeed. "An Impression of John Steinbeck: Writer" looks at the man and his work, intercuts clips from the movie version of "The Grapes of Wrath" with scenes of Salinas, Monterey and the green paradise of a valley where Steinbeck grew up. "The Numbers Start With the River" is a life-affirming work, narrated by an elderly couple who've got all they need and love in the calm little town around them. By the nature of their subjects, however, such films look to the past and cherish landscapes and values that are fast disappearing. The vitality in these American Pastoral works, and not much evidence in any other USIA films of what



America Illustrated: A sense of style

continued

# Nixon Asks \$38.5 Million for Two Free Radios

WASHINGTON — (AP) — President Nixon, mindful of congressional criticism, has called for \$38.5 million to support the operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for fiscal 1973 while a study is made on future legislation.

Funds for the two broadcasting systems that beam programs behind the Iron Curtain would otherwise end July 1. Nixon said these radios help to promote free, responsible communication among nations.

He said these radios "are not spokesmen for American official policy — that role belongs in broadcasting to the Voice of America. Rather, they are expressions of our profound conviction that a responsible, independent and free press plays an indispensable part in the social and political processes that look to better understanding and more effective cooperation, not only within a nation, but also among nations."

Noting a number of differ-

ent views that have been expressed in Congress on how to fund the radios in the future, Nixon said he will appoint a presidential study commission to make recommendations to him by Feb. 28, 1973, to examine this problem and suggest the best possible way to provide support "for these valuable organizations . . . without impairment to the professional independence upon which their present effectiveness depends."

At the end of March, Nixon signed a law providing grants of \$36 million in fiscal 1972 for the two radios, which he said had been approved by large majorities in Congress and which he said reflects the judgment of many that they "continue to perform a unique and valuable service."

He strongly recommended that Congress give favorable consideration to this new bill before the beginning of the new fiscal year.



International

## The short-wave spies of the CIA

Senator J. W. Fulbright, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, inserted, into the March 6 Congressional Record, studies on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the CIA media, which had been prepared for the committee by the Library of Congress. Those studies provide the raw material for this column.

By ERIK BERT

Radio Free Europe was conceived in 1949 by the Truman administration as an anti-Soviet instrumentality "outside the realm of government," that is, outside the possibility of Congressional scrutiny or control.

Secretary of State Dean Acheson, one of the inspirers of the cold war, had directed Joseph C. Grew to "establish a private group to help deal with certain aspects of Eastern European exiles" who "were paying frequent visits to the State Department." The idea had been suggested originally in February, 1949, by George Kennan, a State Department official.

DeWitt C. Poole, a former Foreign Service officer, gathered a group of prominent Americans to form the National Committee for a Free Europe, formally incorporated in New York on June 2, 1949, as Free Europe, Inc.

Grew told a press conference at the time that the purpose was in part to find jobs for the "democratic" refugees from the socialist countries of Eastern Europe.

The National Committee for a Free Europe was not primarily an employment agency, however. It was a CIA channel for organized warfare against the Soviet Union, with these "democratic" characters as its troops.

By July, 1949, a Radio Committee had been established within NCFE-CIA. A year later, in July, 1950, the Radio Committee went on the air as Radio Free Europe, a division of NCFE-CIA.

This period was roughly concurrent with the persecution of the top U.S. Communist Party leaders who were indicted under the Smith Act in 1948 and, following a nine-month trial and appeals, went to prison in 1951 for long terms.

By the end of 1950, RFE-CIA had established a short wave radio in West Germany and was broadcasting one and a half hours daily to Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania. By the end of 1951, RFE-CIA was operating three transmitters in Germany and one in Portugal.

Czechoslovakia became the prime target, with one of the transmitters broadcasting a full day's program to the republic. There were limited short-wave broadcasts to the other targets. By the mid-1950s, RFE-CIA was broadcasting 18-20 hours per day, through some 29 transmitters, primarily to Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. All of these became subsequently the scenes of counterrevolutionary attempts.

The CIA's Free Europe, Inc., its holding company, established, in addition to its broadcast operations, the Free Europe Press which until the fall of 1956 engaged in balloon leaflet-distribution and "has also carried out various other publishing activities;" and Free Europe Exile Relations, the CIA's liaison with various counter-revolutionary groups, including the Assembly of Captive European Nations.

### Radio Liberty-CIA

The Library of Congress study does not reveal when Radio Liberty was conceived. Formally, it emerged in January, 1951, with the incorporation in Delaware

of the American Committee for Freedom of the Peoples of the USSR, Inc. This committee was the forerunner of the present Radio Liberty Committee, Inc.

RL-CIA began operations on a small scale in March 1953, broadcasting short wave to the Soviet Union.

Its mercenaries were anti-socialist, anti-Soviet emigres from the USSR.

Its single transmitter was located in West Germany.

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NEW ORLEANS, LA.

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## Voice of America Cold War Relic?

Chairman J. William Fulbright, for all his accumulated learning on and off the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, should be plagued by his calling the Voice of America a relic of the Cold War.

Granted there's a lingering euphoria over rapprochement with Red China dictated perhaps by mutual international interests which no one presumes are immutable. But what other euphemism than "Cold War" can describe, say, the Soviet Union's continued support and financing of Communist subversion in Latin America?

Columnist Jack Anderson, for example, recently reported a secret finding by the Central Intelligence Agency, which he said "has put together the jigsaw pieces from its agents in Europe and Latin America."

An earlier Anderson report told how Cuban Premier Fidel Castro moved his Latin American liberation center from his Paris embassy to the one in Santiago, Chile, where Marxist Salvador Allende is president, duly chosen in a democratic election, albeit by a plurality. (In his field of three, of course, President Nixon was not elected by popular majority either.)

But the Kremlin, according to the quoted CIA report, has asked Cas-

tro "to try to regain control over Latin American revolutionary movements" and has promised "to pay all the costs involved."

The Soviets are said to look with favor upon the "Chilean formula, which maintains that traditional democratic procedures are the best means of socialist power in weak, backward countries," though they will back Che Guevara-type armed revolution or political struggle, "whichever was deemed appropriate in given countries throughout Latin America."

If the CIA report is accurate or representative, should the United States and the rest of the Free World be sheepish about expressing our side or about "provoking" Russia in a fancied thaw in the Cold War?

Genuine overtures for mutual arms reduction and general detente are not to be discouraged, but let us not presume that muting Radio Free Europe or VOA, whose messages are beamed to what were once conceded "captive nations" of Eastern Europe, will somehow cause the Russian masters to stop feeding, or call off, their dogs of the Cold War.

Isolationism is not going to make unpleasant world forces go away—no matter how hard we wish upon an Aquarian star.

STATINTL

CROSBY S. NOYES

## USIA Cuts: It's Good That Fulbright Failed

The Senate is to be congratulated for having overridden its Foreign Relations Committee, restoring \$45 million that the committee had cut from the budget authorization of the United States Information Agency.

The action of the committee to cripple USIA was a curious combination of vindictiveness and muddle-headed logic to begin with. Ostensibly, the vote to cut 20 percent of the agency's \$200 million budget was part of the continuing struggle between Congress and the White House over the issue of "executive privilege."

In this case, the dispute arose over a refusal by the administration to turn over to the committee its "program memoranda" from various countries, outlining the major propaganda objectives for the countries. The agency argued that these were internal planning documents rather than policy statements. Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright contended that, whatever they were, the committee needed them to evaluate the validity of the USIA programs abroad.

On both sides, it was a silly dispute which really had very little relevance to the problem of executive privilege or the prerogatives of the

Congress. It carried strong overtones of a personal feud between Fulbright and USIA's hawkish director, Frank Shakespeare. The committee action suggested that the chairman had neither forgotten nor forgiven the comment of a top USIA official (since resigned) that Fulbright's views on foreign policy were "naive and stupid."

But more than this, the dispute reflected a continuing and profound difference between the committee liberals, headed by Fulbright, and the administration over anything that might be labeled as official propaganda.

In Fulbright's view, all of these activities, whether conducted by USIA or by such separate operations as Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, come under the heading of "Cold War activities" incompatible with the new era of ideological disarmament, reconciliation and detente. There is good reason to believe that the committee axe would have fallen in any case, whether or not the larger issue of legislative-executive prerogatives had been raised.

In any event, the axe, when it fell, cut to the bone. Under

the budget reported out by the committee, the Voice of America, which is the guts of the USIA effort, would have been effectively muzzled. Its program of 780 broadcast hours weekly in 35 languages would have been reduced to 454 hours in 11 languages. Most broadcasts to Eastern Europe would have been eliminated altogether.

The broadcasts to Africa, except in French, would have been completely eliminated. So would a large part of the Asian program, including broadcasts in Bengali, Burmese, Hindi, Khmer, Korean, Lao, Thai and Urdu. Of 15 broadcast relay stations in the United States and overseas, seven would have had to be shut down.

Other overseas operations of the agency would have been similarly curtailed. USIA would have had to close down operations completely in some 30 countries, cutting out 34 branch posts and reading rooms and reducing operations in the remaining countries. The motion picture and television service would have had to close one of its two studios and satellite transmissions would have been eliminated. More than a quarter of the USIA staff would have

been fired, including 1,000 Americans.

All this, mind you, in the name of international amity and the relaxation of tensions with the Communist and uncommitted world. All this, given the almost incredible insularity and isolationism of the liberals on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, based on the utterly false supposition that the function of USIA is to encourage tension, to undermine the morale of foreign populations and to present the United States as a dangerous ideological and political adversary.

Which leads one to wonder what in the world the Foreign Relations Committee thinks detente is all about. Anyone who has lived and traveled abroad knows that USIA (and Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty) represents a most essential—and in some cases unique—conduit of free information and ideas into the closed societies of the world. To base a detente on the severance of all communication with the East—leaving the Soviet Union free to carry on its infinitely more pervasive propaganda—is to promote the peace of the grave. Which is reason enough to hail the wisdom of the Senate in restoring the funds.

6 MAY 1972

Setting the Record Straight

# The Dramatic Changes at USIA

**Under the firm direction of Frank Shakespeare, the United States Information Agency is finally doing the job it was set up to do—to present a balanced and responsible picture of America to the world**

By VERDON CUMMINGS

It is either an outmoded relic of the Cold War and out of step with the Nixon Administration's policy of détente with the Communists or a hard-hitting effective propaganda agency telling the truth about the United States—and about communism—to the world.

It is either an over-funded hodge-podge of culture, information and propaganda, staffed by over-paid hacks or a sophisticated and complex organization staffed by the world's best propagandists, in the forefront of that combination of public relations and foreign affairs that has come to be known as the "new diplomacy." It may be, in some bizarre sense, a bit of all of these.

Whatever it is—and opinions certainly vary—the United States Information Agency, under the directorship of Frank Shakespeare since 1969, has suddenly become one of the most talked-about and controversial governmental agencies in Washington.

For many years relatively unreported and generally unknown by the public, USIA has in recent months become the subject of heated comment across the country. Sen. J. William Fulbright has directed all of his considerable congressional powers to destroy any trace of anti-communism in USIA output. It is Fulbright's efforts to hamstring USIA that have brought that agency on to stage-center in Washington, an unfamiliar and, to many USIA bureaucrats, an unpleasant place.

Supporters of Frank Shakespeare claim that since he has taken over the reins, USIA has become more dynamic, like the dynamic, combative, fast-moving propaganda agency it was always meant to be. Critics who agree with

Sen. Fulbright that Shakespeare is out of step with world realities, claim that Shakespeare's approach has been nothing short of disastrous, and that only a drastic cut in USIA funds (over which Fulbright, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, now has partial control) will convince the Administration that Shakespeare's approach is all wrong.

The Foreign Relations Committee, following Fulbright's lead and with what one USIA official claimed was "perfunctory" examination of the total USIA program during recent hearings, recommended a cut of \$45 million from the \$200-million appropriation requested by USIA. Such a cut was designed to cripple the Voice of America, USIA's broadcasting arm, which has been praised by Soviet Jews and ethnic minorities throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union for its broadcasts.

It might be said that with the Fulbright attack, USIA has finally reached the position in Washington where, no matter what people may say about it, it is no longer ignored. For almost 20 years it existed as a kind of adjunct to the State Department (although USIA is actually an independent agency within the executive branch), all but unknown and unsung. But then, in 1969, President Nixon appointed Frank Shakespeare, the man chiefly responsible for his successful use of television during the 1968 campaign, to be head of USIA. Things began happening at USIA immediately thereafter and haven't stopped since.

What has Shakespeare wrought?

His supporters and his critics agree on at least one thing. Under the guidance of the former CBS execu-

tive and articulate anti-Communist things just haven't been the same at USIA.

*Item:* In the past three years under Shakespeare, USIA films have received Academy-award nominations and one Oscar for *Czechoslovakia 1968*, the recent showing of which by Sen. James Buckley over New York television stations caused a furor in the Congress.

*Czechoslovakia* is a 13-minute film in which a stunning combination of old film clips, evocative music and highly sophisticated editing techniques tells the story of Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1968 in truly cinematic terms. Only one word, "*Svoboda!*" (freedom) is spoken in the film so it has a universal appeal and can be enjoyed on many levels by different kinds of audiences. The last part of the film consists entirely of footage smuggled out of Czechoslovakia after the 1968 invasion, showing Russian tanks rolling through the streets of Prague. The film has been shown to universal acclaim throughout the world.

*Item:* In 1970 the Voice of America (VOA) told of the Russian guilt in placing missiles along the Suez Canal at a time when Secretary of State William Rogers was trying to soft-peddle the facts. This exacerbated the already sensitive relationship between America's top diplomat and top propagandist.

*Item:* Shakespeare has officially stated that any top USIA officer who expects to advance professionally must have at least one tour in a Communist-dominated country. Shakespeare's feeling is that a foreign service officer can't advance unless he has lived in a

continues





International

## Two studies of how the CIA poisons Europe's airwaves

Senator J. W. Fulbright inserted into the March 6 Congressional Record two studies of the CIA's anti-Soviet communications network in Europe: on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Radio Free Europe is directed at Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania; Radio Liberty at the Soviet Union.

The two studies were prepared by the Library of Congress, which is anti-Soviet and anti-socialist in outlook. The accompanying article is based on these studies.

By ERIK BERT

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty became a problem for the Nixon Administration, for the CIA, and others in January, 1971 when Congress, under persisting public pressure, addressed itself cautiously to the funding and administration of the two radios.

"Both radios had hitherto ostensibly been supported by private funds but had actually been largely funded by the Central Intelligence Agency," the RFE study says.

The Advertising Council, an agency created to give the advertising industry a decent public image, has provided the main cover for the CIA funding of RFE. It promotes campaigns, ostensibly for private donations to RFE-CIA, but actually to conceal the fact that the RFE's money comes from the CIA. The Advertising Council disguises its CIA cover campaigns as a "public service."

The RFE media campaigns sluiced through the Advertising Council had a commercial value of between \$12 million and \$20 million, according to Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ).

However, the returns on these expenditures were pitiable—less than \$100,000. The obvious conclusion has been that the communications media and the advertising industry, or their Big Business clients, supplied the bulk of \$12 million to \$20 million.

Supplementary solicitations from private industry formed only a "small part" of the RFE-CIA budget.

In fiscal 1970, 8,279 corporations contributed to RFE-CIA and halfway through 1971, 4,462 had contributed.

In fiscal 1971 \$22,366,876 was expended for Radio Free Europe operations; \$244,036 for RFE capital investments; and \$501,072 for RFE Fund, Inc.

Radio Liberty's annual budget in recent years has ranged between \$12 million and \$14 million, according to Senator Clifford Case and the General Accounting Office.

RL-CIA has dispensed with the elaborate scenery behind which RFE-CIA received its funds from the CIA. RL-CIA has had no program for corporate funding, and during the decade 1962-1971, it received only \$20,000 in unsolicited funds, or about \$2,000 a year.

The corporate existence of Radio Free Europe-CIA is Radio Free Europe, Inc.

The RFE-CIA report says it is a "safe assumption that contact between (the Central Intelligence Agency) and Free Europe, Inc., was probably a major function of the Free Europe, Inc. corporate headquarters."

RFE's board of directors consists of 19 persons under the chairmanship of General Lucius Clay. The fund raising conduit is Radio Free Europe Fund, Inc., chaired by Steward S. Cort, chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Corp.

Radio Liberty differs from Radio Free Europe in the structure through which CIA control is exercised. RFE's board of directors has participated actively in its affairs.

Radio Liberty's board of trustees, embracing "leaders in the American business community, former government officials and military leaders, educators and publicists," is decorative and "passive." Former President Harry Truman is honorary chairman, a post in which he succeeded Hoover and Dwight Eisenhower. (86/1).

The board of trustees, which fronts for the CIA's anti-Soviet radio operation, and for what

goes with it, includes, according to a recent RL-CIA pamphlet: Henry V. Poor, assistant dean, Yale College of Law, Howland Sargeant, president, former Assistant Secretary of State; Whitney North Seymour, chairman of the board, Carnegie Foundation, former president, American Bar Association; John W. Studebaker, former U.S. Commissioner of Education; Reginald T. Townsend, vice-president, RL committee; William L. White, editor and publisher, Emporia Gazette; Philip L. Willkie, attorney; Mrs. Oscar Ahlgren, former president, General Federation of Women's Clubs; John R. Burton, chairman of the board, National Bank of Far Rockaway, New York; J. Peter Grace, president, W. R. Grace & Co., a major conglomerate; Allen Grover, former vice president, Time-Life, Inc.; Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, ret., former Allied Commander in Europe (NATO); John S. Mays, former U.S. ambassador to Switzerland; H. J. Heinz, III, chairman of the board, H. J. Heinz Co., and Isaac Don Levine, veteran anti-Sovieteer.

RFE-CIA operates also the West European Advisory Group of Radio Free Europe, a group of influential Europeans who meet once a year with the officers and directors of Free Europe, Inc., to exchange thoughts about policy and such. The West Europe committee was established in 1959. Its current chairman is Dirk Stikker, Netherlands capitalist, politician and one-time secretary-general of NATO. His predecessors were Randolfo Pacciardi and Paul van Zeeland.

Pacciardi, former Italian Defense Minister, was accused in 1969 of having been involved in a plot for a Rightist coup in Italy.

Radio Free Europe, Inc., is an outgrowth of the Crusade for Freedom, organized in 1950 by Gen. Clay to support the counter-revolutionary Free Europe Committee.

William P. Durkee, formerly director of RFE-CIA in Munich, is president of both the Radio Free Europe Inc., and Radio Free Europe Fund, Inc.

1 MAY 1972

STATINTL

## NIXON'S 'PEACE'

The retiring German ambassador in Moscow, Helmut Allardt, has put his finger on President Nixon's real policy toward the Soviet designs in Europe.

Upon returning to Bonn, Allardt paraphrased some of the warnings the men in the Kremlin have asked him to convey to the German leaders. Before his departure, Allardt had met with Leonid Brezhnev, the current Soviet No. 1, Premier Kosygin, Foreign Minister Gromyko and President Podgorny.

Ominously, the Soviet leaders mentioned the word "war" in expounding about what will happen in the event the Bundestag rejects the Moscow-Bonn and Warsaw-Bonn treaties recently negotiated by the Government of Chancellor Willy Brandt with the Kremlin and with the Soviet-sponsored Communist Polish regime.

In his diplomatic parlance, Allardt stated that the interviews were "friendly, but at the same time marked with a penetrating seriousness."

Henry M. Kissinger, White House foreign policy mentor, has been giving "backgrounder" briefings to selected commentators conveying the idea that the Nixon Administration was alarmed at the extent of the concessions made by the Brandt Government to the Soviets and their captive States.

Actually, in his desire to run as the "Peace President" in November 1972, President Nixon has let the Kremlin leaders know that he is ready to grant them—and to help them assert—suzerain rights in all Western Europe, as well as in Germany and in the Soviet-occupied countries of Central and Eastern Europe. That is the meaning of the vocal support which Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty currently are giving to Brandt's new *Ostpolitik*, and especially to the German treaties with the Communist countries which the German Parliament will be asked to ratify early in May. Both U.S.-sponsored radio networks are operated by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) which is now under direct control of Kissinger.

The true intent of this Soviet-American accord is difficult to infer from Soviet radio broadcasts and publications, partly because of the exceedingly obscure Marxist terminology. It is also difficult to guess from the media, subjected to State Department guidelines.

But there is nothing obscure about the coming new arrangement in Europe, as described in *Commentary*, the monthly magazine sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. In its January 1972 issue, after shedding crocodile tears over the failure of European leaders to implicitly follow the Rothschild-Rockefeller Convergence scheme, Walter Laqueur reveals:

Western Europe would not be physically occupied by Soviet forces, but there would be Soviet hegemony over the whole European Continent. Moscow will not necessarily insist on the inclusion of Communists in *every* European Government, but (as in Finland) it would demand that untrustworthy political leaders or parties be excluded from positions of power and influence, and it would expect a ban on any criticism of Soviet policies. Broadcasting stations critical of Soviet policies would be removed from the air as a danger to European "security." All interference with the activities of Soviet agents will be banned as a "hostile act." In short, the part of Europe that is still free will be readied for easy gobbling up by the Soviets.

This is the deal Nixon is scheduled to sign in Moscow this month.

May 1, 1972

exist, that the cold war with Russia and the other Communist countries is not any better. It is naive for us to think that love and peace are in the offing. I do not disagree with that.

We have many problems with Russia, but I submit that one of the obstacles to better relations with Eastern Europe and Russia and most of those other countries—although I think our relations have improved over time—but in any case, among the principal irritants are these broadcasts from Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty. They contribute to keeping alive the animosity and suspicion which exists between our country and Russia. I said before with regard to Radio Free Europe it seemed to me with the President going to Russia and having just been to China, and having announced a policy of trying to normalize and improve relations with those countries that it is inconsistent to continue a propaganda program designed to arouse the suspicion of the people of those countries against their governments.

I do not think it accomplishes our purposes; it harms our relations. I can well imagine that there are people in Russia who disagree with their leaders' policy of meeting with the President of the United States and who make the same arguments that are made on the floor of this body that there is no hope for better relations with the United States, or that they are kidding themselves to think they can do business with the United States. One of the things they would point out would be the propaganda we engage in.

It has always puzzled me why the Russians have such suspicion with regard to the SALT talks. They had one meeting interrupted by the U-2 incident. Those not disposed to normalized relations with us can point to the Voice of America and Radio Liberty and say, "They do not really mean it, they are kidding us. They continue the old war-time programs of propaganda intended to undermine the stability of our government."

I ask very seriously on the merits whether the program is well designed to accomplish the announced purposes of the President and what I believe to be the overwhelming view of the people of the United States, and that is to bring about better relations with the people of Russia, China, and Eastern Europe.

It seems to me it is high time in this world with nuclear weapons that some other approach to the solution of these international differences be developed; that greater emphasis be placed on co-operation and discussion such as the United Nations offers, than to keep alive the traditional anticommunism which we have been subjected to for so long, to keep that alive by spending \$200 million in this case, and many millions of dollars more in the case of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. I am not under any illusion it is going to be easy, but I think some different approach than the one we have had is called for.

Mr. President, I referred earlier to an article by Bruce J. Oudes, who, I see, served with the USIA overseas from

1961 to 1965 and is now an international reporting fellow at Columbia University. So he speaks from substantial experience in the USIA.

Mr. President, the article entitled "The Great Mind Machine" relates to the problem I am talking about and that is the value of the USIA itself.

Just to give a sample of the article, I wish to read one part:

Much of the time there is a gnawing suspicion that whatever the project of the day might be, you're participating in a giant charade, a hoax.

"What am I doing here?" is a question that often intrudes in the mind of the USIA officer as he goes about his appointed rounds. Why was I hauling those pamphlets across the Sahara? In time the two of us delivered our "freight"—the agency term for its message—to the American Embassy in Nouakchott, and it was duly distributed to its Mauritanian audience. Yet it is hard to imagine that any minds were altered by our pamphlets, either among the illiterate nomads who make up most of the population, or among the tiny literate ruling class, whose ears are tuned to Cairo and Paris. Certainly our message did not prevent Mauritania's rulers from breaking relations with the U.S. during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. And why was I hustling votes for Moise Tshombe in the Congo? Tshombe won the election with American help, but not because of anything USIA did; the constituency that mattered was the white mercenaries, who voted with their guns, and the kind of U.S. help that mattered was money and arms, and planes supplied by the Central Intelligence Agency. If we won any votes in Katanga, which I doubt, they weren't counted—that's not how power is won and lost in the Congo. Thus the USIA officer's self-criticism centers around feelings of futility; harmless in Mauritania, but distasteful in the Congo.

USIA produces a lot of noise. Whether that noise wins any hearts and minds out there is a question to which, fortunately for the agency, there is no statistical answer—for propaganda, unlike soap, cannot be measured in bars sold.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the full article by Mr. Oudes.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### THE GREAT WIND MACHINE (By Bruce J. Oudes)

The sight of a wheel rolling off into the desert is of distinct interest if it is one of four carrying you to Nouakchott, the capital of Mauritania.

It happened the visit was a goodwill, more correctly a misguided will, mission. The occasion, replete with rising sandstorm, provided time and conditions for a unique reassessment of the heavy cargo, principally hundreds of pounds of pamphlets explaining the American way of life, which had contributed to the breakdown.

My companion, who had been sent from Washington to see if the United States Information Agency (USIA) was hitting the "target" in West Africa, blew the sand off a brochure on the American economy, one which described the marvelous Detroit motor vehicle, and broke up laughing.

On another occasion, the scene was the Congo and my companion was an American newsmagazine correspondent. We spent a rather dry afternoon driving around the precincts of Katanga distributing a station-wagon load of American-produced "get out the vote" leaflets in Swahili in preparation for an election which, to no one's surprise,

ratified Moise Tshombe as the Congo's Prime Minister.

Any officer in USIA has a store of such stories. They are rooted in the frustration of determining the message, the audience, and how the audience is supposed to react to the message. Much of the time there is a gnawing suspicion that whatever the project of the day might be, you're participating in a giant charade, a hoax.

"What am I doing here?" is a question that often intrudes in the mind of the USIA officer as he goes about his appointed rounds. Why was I hauling those pamphlets across the Sahara? In time the two of us delivered our "freight"—the agency term for its message—to the American Embassy in Nouakchott, and it was duly distributed to its Mauritanian audience. Yet it is hard to imagine that any minds were altered by our pamphlets, either among the illiterate nomads who make up most of the population, or among the tiny literate ruling class, whose ears are tuned to Cairo and Paris. Certainly our message did not prevent Mauritania's rulers from breaking relations with the U.S. during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. And why was I hustling votes for Moise Tshombe in the Congo? Tshombe won the election with American help, but not because of anything USIA did; the constituency that mattered was the white mercenaries, who voted with their guns, and the kind of U.S. help that mattered was money and arms, and planes supplied by the Central Intelligence Agency. If we won any votes in Katanga, which I doubt, they weren't counted—that's not how power is won and lost in the Congo. Thus the USIA officer's self-criticism centers around feelings of futility; harmless in Mauritania, but distasteful in the Congo.

The agency that sends its people on such missions is a 17-year-old cold war hybrid, the descendant of the World War I George Creel committee and then in World War II the Overseas Operations Branch in Elmer Davis's Office of War Information. At the end of the war OWI was transferred to the State Department where William Benton, the advertising man, later a U.S. Senator, nursed it for two years. As the cold war got underway, Benton's office drafted a bill which became the Smith-Mundt Act and put propaganda permanently into the American defense arsenal. Under the Eisenhower Administration in June, 1953, John Foster Dulles rid his beloved State Department of the dirty linen of propaganda work and the name U.S. Information Agency was born. The USIA budget passed the \$100 million mark during the Eisenhower years and floated up to its present \$175 million mark during the two subsequent Democratic Administrations.

Today USIA produces 66 magazines in 27 languages. Its Voice of America broadcasts 932 hours weekly in nearly three dozen languages using 104 transmitters with a total of 19 million watts. It has assisted foreign book publishers in producing more than 120 million copies of over 14,000 editions since 1950. It operates more than 22 libraries visited by 20 million or more persons annually (down from over 31 million in 1955). It radioteletypes abroad a 10,000-word daily file of Administration statements and packaged stories ready for foreign newspapers to lunk in their columns. It does all this with a staff of 2,139 Foreign Service personnel, a total which will be reduced to about 1,700 by mid-year by Presidential order. Foreign Service personnel, however, are substantially outnumbered by the 2,410 permanent Washington-based employees who try to communicate America to a world they never see.

USIA produces a lot of noise. Whether that noise wins any hearts and minds out there is a question to which, fortunately for the agency, there is no statistical answer—for propaganda, unlike soap, cannot be measured in bars sold. True believers in the agency pro-

May 1972

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PROBLEMS AND OPINIONS

## COLD WAR BALLAST

V. KUZNETSOV

TO BELIEVE official Washington, it would be a "tragedy" if the American-financed Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in Munich went off the air. A tragedy for whom? Do they think in the United States that the socialist countries will miss them? The two stations have already swallowed up nearly \$500 million and now cost the American taxpayer nearly \$40 million a year—so it will hardly be a tragedy for him. If anyone might suffer from their closure, it is the handful that feed from its anti-communist propaganda kitchen.

In any case, the word "tragedy" is altogether out of place where it concerns air polluters who subsist on propaganda which at best is cheap. A more suitable word would be "comedy." For what if not comic were the Washington Administration's claims that it had nothing to do with the two stations, that they were dependent solely on "private contributions" and "dimes from schoolchildren"? Government officials had good cause to ponder long on how to camouflage the whole thing. "Official government radios must take care to avoid the charge of interference in the internal affairs of other nations," Assistant Secretary of State Hillenbrand said in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 24, 1971.

The comedy flopped when Senators Clifford Case and William Fulbright openly charged that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. They thus confirmed what had long been asserted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, namely, that these Munich stations were subsidiaries of the U.S. Information Agency and the CIA. "It was always ridiculous to pretend that Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe had no connection with U.S. government agencies," Cyrus Sulzberger commented in the *New York Times*.

World public opinion now possesses enough facts to form a clear idea about these "free" voices of the "free world." Newspapers everywhere printed the revelations of Captain Andrzej Czecho-

wicz, who worked for six years at Radio Free Europe on an assignment from the Polish security service. Its output, he wrote, "has long been part and parcel of espionage and overt subversion against our countries.... The two political departments and all the sections of the broadcasting station are headed by American intelligence officers."

Then there is the book "Hungarians on U.S. Payroll," just published in Budapest. Its author, journalist Istvan Pinter, spent fifteen years collecting material about the subversive activities of Hungarian émigrés working for Western intelligence services and about Radio Free Europe and its sinister part in the preparation of the counter-revolutionary putsch of 1956.

Lastly, there is the new Soviet television film about Radio Liberty provocateurs—an exposé based strictly on documents and affidavits.

But perhaps the socialist countries are too prejudiced against Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty which, their directors and patrons affirm, sow "seeds of truth, freedom and justice" and not the poisonous seeds of anti-communism, hostility, distrust and international tension? Let us see what is said on this score in Federal Germany and the United States.

"Anyone who wants to work for Radio Liberty must be an anti-communist," a spokesman of this Munich broadcasting station said in an interview with Axel Springer's *Die Welt*. And here is the opinion of Senator Fulbright. The two stations, he said, are "a product of the U-2, Bay of Pigs and Tonkin Gulf mentality," a "part of a pattern—a pattern of falsehood and deception—a pattern of fraud and deceit—a pattern of conspiracy to mislead not only the American but anybody else who was willing to listen and follow." The *Washington Evening Star* writes that one can agree that the production of the Munich "voices" is nothing but official propaganda against the communist countries. Both stations, writes Bernard Gwertzman in the *New York Times*, "were set up at the height of

the cold war to broadcast news and commentary to the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies."

The cold war has been abating of late, and this is recognized in the West too. But what do the Munich "voices" care about that? These offshoots of the cold war have not become wiser with the years, they are still its troubadours. They persevere in the "liberalization of the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*), in trying to "influence people in the Russian orbit at the expense of the communist governments" (*New York Post*). While qualifying the two stations as a "hangover of the cold war," the *New York Post* intimates that the U.S. government appears to have no intention of "kicking its long addiction to anti-communist crusades at home and abroad."

Are the present-day crusaders, one may ask, not being too presumptuous in venturing beyond their own borders, even if only on the air?

Senator Stuart Symington put the question bluntly during the discussion of the State Department budget in the Senate. Didn't the Secretary of State think that the American broadcasting stations in Munich were interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, he asked Rogers.

Rogers tried to avoid giving a direct reply. But the question cannot be evaded. The Munich broadcasts, the *Washington Post* wrote in one of its editorials, were a form of interference in the internal affairs of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

In the recent U.S.-China communiqué the United States declared its support for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. How is one to interpret this: as an empty promise, a simple formality or a serious international commitment? "How, it is asked, can that be squared with further operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty?" the *New York Post* asks the Republican Administration.

It is noteworthy that while formerly Washington disowned these broadcasting stations to avoid being rebuked for interfering in other countries' affairs, now—when the carefully concealed links between the stations and the CIA have been exposed—it is insisting on its "right" to poke its nose where it shouldn't, and even on recognition of this "right." This is implied in the U.S. Administration argument

STATINTL

E. ORANGE, N.J.

RECORD

MAR 30 1972

WEEKLY - 3,800

## Report to you

By Sen. Clifford Case



Last week the Congress approved my bill to bring into the open the funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty which broadcast to Eastern Europe.

I first introduced this legislation in January 1971. At that time, I decried the fact that for over twenty years the two stations had been financed covertly by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). While such funding might well have been justified for a few years in the context of the early 1950's, it seemed to me there was no reason to have continued U.S. Government contributions on a secret basis for all those years, particularly in light of the hundreds of millions of the taxpayers' dollars which were being spent.

My purpose was not to end the broadcasts of the stations. It was simply to bring their financing out into the open.

Our Constitution states that Congress shall appropriate funds for government purposes and the Congress had never knowingly voted a penny for

either station. The money had come out of that vast intelligence budget which is hidden in other appropriated funds. Moreover, in 1967 a high level government study group recommended that CIA financing of activities such as RFE and RL be terminated.

I did not question whether or not RFE and RL were doing a good job. Frankly, I had no way of knowing, since one obvious result of the secret funding was that neither Congress nor the public had much idea what the radios were doing. There were, of course, television and magazine commercials for RFE, but they gave the misleading impression that without private contributions the stations would not be able to broadcast.

Hearings were scheduled in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on my bill which, in effect, authorized funds for activities that were already being paid for secretly by the government.

For the first time, we received reasonably complete information about

RFE's and RL's programs, costs, assets, and liabilities.

While the Administration did not object to open funding, it suggested that the stations be handled through a public corporation. This measure was voted down in the Foreign Relations Committee, but the Committee and later the Senate adopted my original proposal for open funding through the Secretary of State.

The House of Representatives then passed another bill which, while accepting the open funding principle, called for a different kind of structure for the two stations.

A deadlock between the House and the Senate then developed when several of my colleagues decided that RFE and RL should be discontinued entirely.

Happily, the impasse was recently broken, and the Congress as a whole has now approved funds for RFE and RL through the current fiscal year. Thus, RFE and RL have finally been put on the same basis as other regular governmental activities and programs.

Editorials—

## Why Isn't There Greater Outcry Against the CIA?

STATINTL

Literate Americans know, but may not care, that a taxpaid government espionage agency is waging a not-so-secret war in Laos against Communist insurgents in that country.

The administration cannot afford to send military troops into Laos, for such a move would be interpreted as an escalation of the war—which it surely would be.

In view of the mounting public distaste for American military adventures in other people's countries, we cannot understand why there is no outcry against the use of civilian CIA "troops" in Laos.

If more were known about the CIA, public indifference might change to outrage. Here are some episodes in which the CIA was involved, each of which outraged us:

►The CIA's spy plane over Russia demolished President Eisenhower's sincere efforts to improve relations with the Soviets. How would you like it if Russian spy planes were dispatched over America?

►The CIA conducted an armed intervention in order to save Guatemala from leftist political elements of which the prevailing powers didn't approve. Internal politics in Guatemala aren't any of America's business. How would you like it if Guatemalan spies worked to discredit one of the American political parties?

►The CIA secretly financed Radio Free Europe, which many of us innocently believed was supported wholly by private contributions. The CIA's takeover of RFE thoroughly stripped the radio station of credibility. How would you like it if a foreign spy network beamed radio messages into America under the cover of "information?"

►The CIA planned and directed the Bay of Pigs fiasco. How would you like it if a Cuban spy apparatus equipped an army of disgruntled American exiles and dispatched them as an invasion force bent on the overthrow of the government?

►The CIA conducted a military operation in the Dominican Republic to prevent a rebellion which would have re-

stored to power a president whom rightist forces had deposed. How would you like it if foreign spies had intervened in the American revolution in support of George III?

►The CIA gave armed support to the overturn of a Congo government and had a strong role in the overthrow of Dictator Diem of South Vietnam, an accomplishment which produced another dictator more pleasing to Washington.

In none of these enterprises has the CIA enhanced the name of the United States of America. To the contrary, it has given support to the spreading viewpoint that the United States is a meddling power which has contributed enormously to the unsettled state of the world.

In all of these enterprises the CIA has been answerable to no one except presidents who, incredibly, had no compunction about conferring the power to make war upon an intelligence agency.

And, if we've got you to thinking about the CIA, think about this: it has 18,000 employees, 6,000 of whom are working in clandestine services, according to Victor L. Marchetti, a former CIA agent, who is writing a book about the CIA. The CIA budget, Marchetti maintains, is \$6 billion a year.

Marchetti may be wrong on every count. The number of CIA agents involved in clandestine activities and the annual CIA budget are "secrets" withheld from the American people.

And one more observation: the administration has obtained a temporary order against publication of Marchetti's book. Naturally.

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## Fulbright probes CIA propaganda arms

STATINTL

By ERIK BERT

Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, asked the Library of Congress last June to furnish the committee with an analysis of the operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

The Library of Congress researchers completed their work seven months later, in January. The committee staff informed the researchers about some alleged deficiencies. Nevertheless, the final LC reports were "substantially as the original drafts," Senator Fulbright said.

Following receipt of the reports by the committee, rumors were circulated in Washington charging that Fulbright was suppressing the information or altering its presentation. In response, Fulbright had the reports published in the Congressional Record of March 6, 1972, except for, he said, several hundred additional pages of appendices, which he said are available to the public in the Foreign Relations Committee office, where the original draft reports can also be consulted. As it is, the text of the reports covers more than 80 of the Congres-

sional Record's triple-column pages.

In presenting the documents to the Senate, Fulbright pointed out that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "still refuse to acknowledge publicly any ties to the U.S. intelligence community."

The two enterprises are known to be vehicles for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The issue on which the RFE-RL problem arose was how to switch them from under-the-table financing by the CIA to aboveboard funding by the Congress. The CIA and the Nixon Administration have resisted congressional funding because that could open the doors to congressional inquiry as to how the money was being used, and the CIA wanted none of that.

Fulbright offered a compromise, possibly a tongue-in-cheek resolution of the problem. He told the Senate he was "persuaded that the Radios should be liquidated, unless perhaps our European allies are willing to pick up their fair share of the financial burden." However, in a letter to Sen. Charles Percy, which he inserted in the Congressional Record with the reports, Fulbright noted the "lack of any apparent interest on the part of our Western European allies to help share the financial burden imposed by the Radios."

Fulbright recalled to the Senate that in 1970 the Foreign Rela-

tions Committee had obtained from the Department of State a "brief description of the arrangements and mechanisms used by the executive branch to maintain policy control and direction of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty."

However, the Department of State "insisted" that its information be available only "on a classified basis." Senators who wanted to read it, Fulbright said, would have to betake themselves to the Foreign Relations Committee Capitol office, S-116.

The Library of Congress report on Radio Free Europe was prepared by James R. Price, the LC's analyst in national defense, foreign relations division, and the report on Radio Liberty by Joseph G. Whalen, a 20-year LC employee.

Whelan came to the Library of Congress from the CIA, according to the bibliography accompanying his reports.

"In 1951, he was briefly employed by the Central Intelligence Agency." That's the formal side. It is an open question whether he ever departed from the CIA.

The RFE and RL reports, although formally prepared by the Library of Congress for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, are in fact a CIA presentation. Despite this fact they are quite enlightening.

STATINTL

## Enough Of Covert Action

While the Administration has obtained a temporary order against publication of a book on the CIA by a former officer of it, Victor L. Marchetti, the public has reason to be thankful to the author. He has already provided outside of book covers some valuable insights and comments on an agency that deliberately hides from the public and Congress.

Without revealing any really hidden secrets, the author uses published reports to note that the nation's intelligence budget is 6 billion dollars a year, that the Central Intelligence Agency has 18,000 employees, and that 6000 of these are working in clandestine services, as opposed to intelligence collection.

As it is, however, the CIA is the President's baby. Congress has proposed various control measures, such as a limit on the CIA budget, or requirements for clearer information about it, or Senator Cooper's present legislation for the CIA to give intelligence briefings to Congress as well as the White House. Congress, after all, foots the bill, but it does not know for what.

CIA officials occasionally surface from secrecy to complain that critics concentrate on CIA failures. If so, that is because the public only hears about the failures, and they have to be big ones at that. They always seem to involve those covert or "paramilitary" operations, which range from a most qualified success in Guatemala to an unmitigated disaster at Cuba's Bay of Pigs. Mr. Marchetti says, "I don't think we've had a successful paramilitary operation yet."

The clandestine operations are worth review. There was the U-2 spy plane incident that torpedoed President Eisenhower's efforts to improve relations with the Soviet Union. There was the CIA's proud armed intervention to "save" Guatemala from leftists, leaving the country to oppression and terrorism. There was

the financing of Radio Free Europe which, when disclosed, stripped that station of every vestige of freedom or credibility. And there was the Bay of Pigs.

Then there was the CIA military operation to save the Dominican Republic from a rebellion to return a democratically-elected president. There was armed support for the overturn of a government in The Congo. Of course, there was the CIA's hand in the overthrow of the Diem dictatorship in South Vietnam, opening the way for another dictatorship more satisfactory to Washington. And there is presently war in Laos, which the CIA actively engendered without any visible success for the American position in Southeast Asia, much less for peace and order.

Aside from the fact that so many of these clandestine activities were inefficient and ineffective, even aside from the fact that they were bound to be failures for America's long-range prospects and reputation even if they did succeed, the ability of the CIA to engage in paramilitary functions represents a continuing ability to start hostilities without the knowledge of the people or Congress, and certainly without any declaration of war.

Author Marchetti is fair enough to say that so far various presidents have kept a measure of control over such activities. That is no guarantee for the future, however, and it is Congress, not the President, that is supposed to make decisions on war. Consequently, Mr. Marchetti recommends confining intelligence activities to a small and highly professional group, and eliminating the covert actions entirely.

Intelligence simply cannot work well when governed by an agency equally interested in activities ranging from propaganda to military action; that is a conflict of interest. The nation does need successful intelligence. It does not need a publicly-uncontrolled and unanswerable power to make war.

STATINTL



SUNDAY, APRIL 9, 1972

STATINTL

## Right and Wrong

BRUCE HERSCHENSOHN is a brilliant movie producer who has created two prizewinning documentary films for USIA. He is also a dedicated foe of Sen. Fulbright's efforts to gag Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and gut other USIA programs.

He has publicly attacked Fulbright, saying that the Arkansas senator's criticisms of U.S. presidents "are only balanced by his words of praise for Ho Chi Minh and Khrushchev and his defense of the doctrine of 'Wars of National Liberation' . . ."

Furthermore, he has charged that Fulbright's attempts to "downgrade" the USIA information programs "could be tragic for this nation and catastrophic for the people of other nations."

We admire Herschensohn's good work for his country and share his view of Sen. Fulbright's curious outlook on the world. But in one aspect of his feud with Fulbright, we must regretfully agree with the senator, at least in principle. In this case, it is an important principle.

HERSCHENSOHN appeared on a television show with conservative Sen. James Buckley. On the same show, carried by 12 stations in New York State, the producer's Academy Award-winning documentary on the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was shown. This, despite Fulbright's efforts to block the airing of the film on grounds that it violated the congressional ban on the distributing of such USIA films in this country.

Like Herschensohn, we find it difficult to believe that Sen. Fulbright's objections were motivated by a high regard for the letter and spirit of the law. Sen. Fulbright has based his opposition to Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and other such projects presumably because

they tend to show the Soviet Union in a bad light.

Certainly there is no way that an honest report of the Soviet Union's invasion of a defenseless Czechoslovakia could do otherwise.

Nevertheless, and in spite of any such motivation on the senator's part, Congress was right to forbid the use of tax-supported propaganda in this country. The senator's objection seems valid.

AND, REGARDLESS of the unbiased honesty of the propaganda or the acknowledged artistry of the presentation, the danger that Congress saw in this use of propaganda is very real.

In this case, the moviemaker is a conservative, the film itself is a recognized work of art and the events portrayed are authentic history.

But what about next time? What if government propagandists were turning out hard-sell propaganda for, let us say, the guaranteed annual wage or forced busing or compulsory birth controls? Would we want our own tax dollars used by an incumbent administration to propagandize us?

We think not. There is all too much of this sort of thing done now, under the guise of the bureaucracy's various "information" programs.

But The News thinks that this misuse of tax dollars is wrong and should be stopped. We believe that Congress was right in its ban on the domestic showing of USIA films.

It is regrettable that Herschensohn has felt that it is necessary to quit the USIA in order to save it embarrassment, at a time when its fund request is before Fulbright's committee. At USIA the film-maker has served both his country and his art well.

But in the matter of the film ban, we think the senator is right, even if he is right for the wrong reasons.

**Indianapolis Dispatch**

UNION CITY, N. D.

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APR 8 1972

## Keep These Stations Open

President Nixon the other day signed legislation which allows the continued funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty until the end of the current fiscal year on June 30. But what happens then, especially with the opposition of Sen. J. W. Fulbright?

We well recall in the depth of the "cold war" how effective Radio Free Europe was in disseminating the real news to those millions behind the Iron Curtain. Then there was no question as to the value of RFE. It was an essential as far as "our side" was concerned.

However, a little more than a year ago, it was brought out that both RFE and Radio Liberty received most of their operating funds from the Central Intelligence Agency. This caused quite a stir and subsequently Sen. Fulbright said they were relics of the 50s.

The Arkansas senator has a lot to say since he's chairman of the foreign relations committee in the upper house and he's against the

stations' continuance. He feels that today the stations are an irritant to the Soviet Union. So? Is that supposed to scare us?

Despite the rapprochement that we're working on with Moscow, in the wake of the Peking visit, Sen. Fulbright is not on the right track when he wants to close down these stations because they're an irritant. They, at least, keep the Russians honest.

As evidence of the stations' worth, the Polish press has assailed Radio Free Europe in the wake of the accord worked out to give it funds to the end of June. One article assailed "inane propaganda made by liars for idiots." How friendly can you get?

As far as we're concerned, both stations are just as germane and necessary now as they were at the peak of the "cold war." Unless you're against the broadcasting of factual news reports to the peoples in eastern Europe. Don't close them down because of lack of funds.

TRENTON, N. J.

D. 81,855

APR 7 1972

# 'Free Radios' To E. Europe In Danger

By NICHOLAS DANILOFF

Of United Press International

WASHINGTON — The time: the early 1960s. The place: Prague. The occasion: a state visit to Czechoslovakia by Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev.

The rotund Soviet premier descends from his jetliner on arrival from Moscow and lines up with Czech dignitaries to review an honor guard.

Suddenly, he notices one of his shoe laces is untied. He stoops spontaneously to tie it.

Rrrrrrip!

His trousers have split down the back.

In an instant, an aide appears at Khrushchev's side with a freshly pressed pair of trousers over his arm.

"But how did you know so quickly that my pants had split?" Khrushchev inquires.

"Oh, I heard on Radio Free Europe," the aide replies.

No one pretends that really happened, but the story got wide circulation — and laughs — in Eastern European countries among listeners to RFE who depended on it for accurate, prompt, sometimes embarrassing and uncensored news.

This was the kind of news that RFE and its sister outlet, Radio Liberty, were created in 1949 to broadcast to the Soviet Union and other Communist countries behind the Iron Curtain.

More Restrained

Twenty-three years later, the times have changed. The radios' broadcasts, in the opinion of specialists, have become more restrained. But the prospects for

The radios were established in West Germany with secret financing from the Central Intelligence Agency to counter the highly controlled press and radio of the Communist governments.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty made it their business to broadcast back to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union information on events which went unmentioned by the official Communist media. They broadcast news about unauthorized strikes, intellectual ferment, natural disasters.

To help do this job, they made use of radio monitors and research institutions — staffed partly by refugees and partly by Western specialists. The two radio stations published their research papers which were useful to scholars, journalists and Western intelligence.

From the U.S. point of view, the radios were promoting the free flow of information to an area where information was severely rationed. From the Communist point of view, the radios were and are an irritant; they were clearly subversive and undermined Communist authority; they constituted interference in the internal affairs of the Communist countries.

U.S. Dispute

These points of view stem from a fundamental ideological difference in Communist and Western attitudes, but now the matter of the operations has blossomed into a troublesome dispute between Congress and the Administration. Continuing difficulty for top Administration officials.

President Nixon signed a bill on March 30 to continue financing the two radio stations until June 30. They are being funded at \$32 million a year, down from \$36 million. The President had to fight to get the bill out of Congress. On March 11, in a special White House statement, he said it would be a tragedy if the radios were forced to close down.

The President was primarily countering the tough opposition of Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., who questions the value of the radios' continued existence. He would have them eliminated — or at least financed at a far smaller level by the United States.

"I didn't intend for this to become a cause celebre," Fulbright said in an interview with UPI. "I'm primarily for cutting costs. Why, we in Arkansas have difficulty in getting \$5 million for sewer and water projects."

The Senator, who for weeks created a parliamentary impasse which threw the future of the stations into doubt, does not appear to be implacably hostile to the continued broadcast operations.

"I'm not going to die if these radio stations continue," he said. "I don't mind if the United States shares the operating expenses with a number of Western European governments and pay, say, one third or one fourth of the costs."

But Fulbright does raise a number of hard questions about the radio stations.

He calls them "relics of the Cold War." Radio Free Europe has been accused of encouraging the abortive Hungarian rebellion of 1956 and of spreading unrest in Poland during December, 1970, demonstrations.

Fulbright notes that Soviet leaders, on the eve of President Nixon's visit to Moscow next month, still regard the broadcasts as subversive.

To continue these broadcasts, Fulbright says, is to cast doubt on the sincerity of the United States in achieving an East-West détente.

If the radios do perform a useful function from the U.S. point of view, Fulbright suggests, they should be performed by the Voice of America.

A number of specialists disagree, saying this would lay the United States open to the charge of interfering in the internal affairs of the countries of Eastern Europe. While RFE and Radio Liberty are regarded as semi-independent, Voice of America is directly government-operated.

Fulbright's dissent has not killed the radios. But it has forced the administration to take a serious new look at RFE and Radio Liberty, how they perform, and what their value is.

Officials are fond of comments by Communist officials which acknowledge the radios provide useful information, particularly in Eastern Europe.

Nobel Winner

Alexander A. Solzhenitsyn, the dissident, Nobel-Prize winning Russian author, declared in a recent outburst against the Soviet government that Radio Liberty was one of the few sources of true information in his country.

The State Department is now studying how best to finance the radio stations in the future.

At Congressional hearings last May and September, it was suggested that a public-private corporation be created to keep the radios going.

Possibly, West European governments, which are in closer geographical proximity to the Soviet Union, might chip in. It is felt here that West Germany may have a particular interest in shaping the future of RFE and Radio Liberty since they operate from that country.

Before approaching the Western Europeans, the State Department is sounding out the mood in Congress. A first step is quiet consultations with Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania, Sen. Charles Percy, R-Ill., and Rep. Dante Fascell, D-Fla.

Percy sponsored a Senate resolution which won 67 votes in favor of continuing the radios. Fascell proposed an amendment to a House bill which would have financed the radios for two more years.

The Pittsburgh Press  
D. 346,090 SUN. 744,732

APR 5 1972 *By Heller*

## The Nobel Crime

In a stupid and heartless move, the Soviet Union has refused an entry visa to the permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy, which awards the Nobel Prize for Literature.

The terrible crime he was planning was to present, at an informal ceremony in a private apartment in Moscow, the medal and diploma of the 1970 prize to Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn, Russia's greatest living writer.

Because his novels depict the horrors of Stalin's prison camps, which he survived, and because he fearlessly speaks out against the police-state aspects of modern Soviet life, Solzhenitsyn is anathema to the ruling Communist Party.

The cruel action by the party hacks in cheating Solzhenitsyn of the pleasure of receiving his award is sure to backfire against them. It will only increase sympathy for the persecuted writer in Russia and abroad.

From anyone who values freedom, Solzhenitsyn deserves respect bordering on awe—not only for the uncompromising truth of his novels but also for his personal comportment. At considerable risk, he is filling the role of Russia's conscience.

He has long spoken against the trampling of civil rights. Last month he went further by circulating a "Lenten Letter." It accused the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church of betraying its flock by acting as a tool of the atheist state.

Instead of behaving like an unperson as an outcast should, Solzhenitsyn this week called in two American news correspondents. He boldly complained of harassment aimed at thwarting his work on a series of historical novels.

He is barred from using public archives and forbidden to hire research assistants.

Survivors of the revolution are intimidated out of sharing their memories with him.

His friends are followed and threatened, his mail opened, his house bugged. His wife was fired from her job to intensify financial pressure on him.

★ ★ ★

In the interview, Solzhenitsyn made a remark of special relevance to Americans. He criticized the Soviet press' lack of fairness and completeness and praised Radio Liberty, which broadcasts in Russian from West Germany.

"If we learn anything about events in our country," he said, "it's from there."

Like radio Free Europe, its sister station that broadcasts to the Soviet satellites, Radio Liberty is supported by the U. S. government. Both stations are the target of a relentless vendetta by Chairman J. W. Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and will go off the air June 30 if he has his way.

Radio Liberty is one medium by which the thoughts of Solzhenitsyn and other dissident writers can reach broad audiences in Russia.

It also serves as his insurance policy: The secret police would drag him away in a minute if they could be sure Radio Liberty would not alert his admirers.

For brave men like Solzhenitsyn, who risk all for a decent future for Russia, Radio Liberty is a candle holding back the totalitarian night. Sen. Fulbright, for dubious reasons, wants to snuff it out. He must not be permitted to do so.

DAYTON DAILY NEWS

DAYTON, OHIO

D. 161,249 SUN. 215,360

APR 2 1972 *By Fuller*

## Fulbright: Censor

Sen. William Fulbright, who has been trying to shut down Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe which beam information behind the Iron Curtain, has said the details of the stations operations "in many cases, are still locked away, hidden from congressional scrutiny or public review."

What Sen. Fulbright does not point out is that he has been primarily responsible for hiding some of this information, and that proponents of the stations — an impressive list of liberals and conservatives—want the whole story brought to public light.



Fulbright.

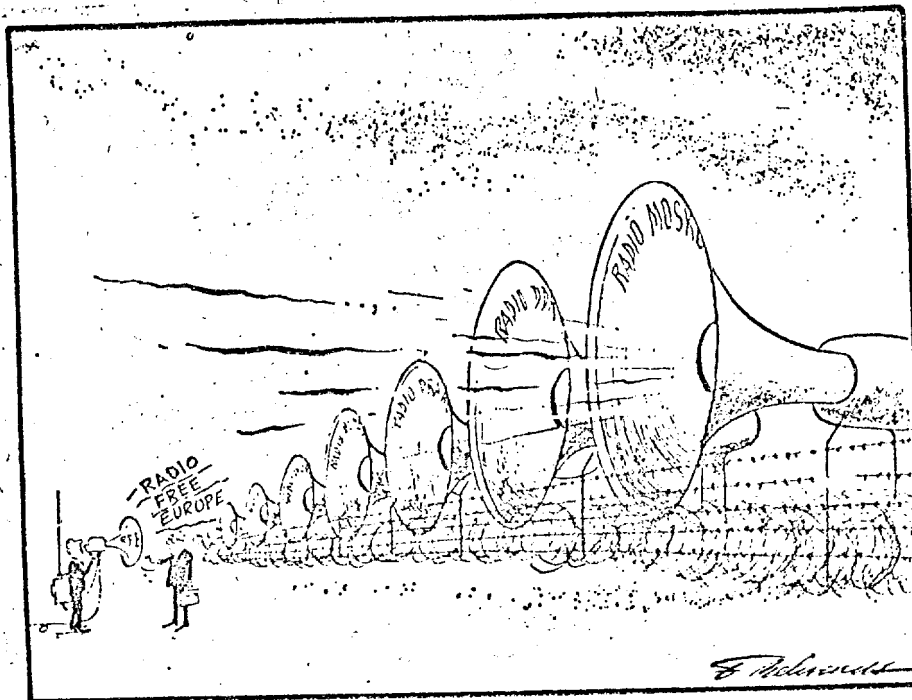
When Sen. Fulbright ordered the Library of Congress to study the performance of the stations, Sen. Fulbright obviously was disappointed to find the report overwhelmingly favorable. The report was delivered to Sen. Fulbright's office in mid-January. The Senator did not release it until March 6 after he had been accused of trying to suppress the favorable findings.

Less well known, however, is that Sen. Fulbright censored the report before releasing it, which is not out of line with the senator's other attempts to rewrite history. The senator says the original drafts of the studies on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are available at the office of the Senate Foreign Relations committee.

Since Sen. Fulbright is still bent on closing down the stations and keeping the debate alive, he ought to demonstrate enough integrity to publish the uncensored report in the Congressional Record.

The Houston Post  
D. 294,590 SUN. 327,167

APR 1 1972 *B. Miller*



'Stop it, you're disturbing the relaxation'

—Behrendt, Het Porool (Amsterdam)

The Birmingham News  
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.  
D. 179,129 SUN, 219,330

MAR 31 1972 *By Kille*

## Don't Sacrifice Truth

There is an element of uncertainty about the future of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty even though the broadcasts have funding until June 30. Funding beyond that date has been blocked by Sen. J. W. Fulbright, who has characterized the two radios as "relics of the cold war."

Although RFE-RL broadcasts once followed a cold war line, today it is generally acknowledged, Sen. Fulbright notwithstanding, that the news the radios beam to the peoples in Communist countries is objective.

Rather than inciting the listeners to rebellion, the broadcasts give the only reliable reporting on political, economic, cultural and sports events available to people who live in societies whose news media are carefully managed by the state.

It seems to a great many people in Europe as well as in this country that Sen. Fulbright is overreacting in his stated desire to help foster a spirit of detente.

A reporter for the *Christian Science Monitor* found nearly every major newspaper in Western Europe urging the preservation of these media.

"Why," one European observer was quoted as asking, "should the radios be shut down simply because they irritate the Soviets? Have the Russians stopped building up their

military power because this alarms us?"

A Russian writer who escaped to Britain, Anatoli Kuznetsov, said that closing the two stations would be cheered by the KGB, Soviet government intelligence, as fulfillment of one of its most ardent wishes.

Kuznetsov said he and other Russian intellectuals depended on foreign stations for honest reporting. And he said of all the broadcasts, RFE-RL alone are not devoted to building up the image of the country sponsoring the broadcasts.

RFE alone is reported to have an audience of an estimated 55 million.

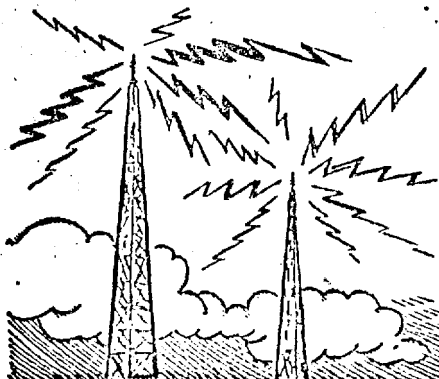
It is no secret that the Russians would like to see the end of the broadcasts, especially since they go to considerable trouble to try and jam the broadcasts.

But detente at this point is an elusive goal that will not be brought significantly closer by merely eliminating these radios. The stations are pebbles compared to the mountains that obstruct progress toward detente.

The fact that the Soviets are so vehemently opposed to the objective reporting of news to the Russian people also says something about the nature of the societies with which we are dealing and chills prospects of the two countries being able to resolve their differences.

The Russian government still wants to tell its people what it wants them to know. This doesn't suggest that Russia herself has moved away from a cold war attitude.

We shouldn't have to make all the concessions for detente and RFE-RL should not be sacrificed simply as a polite gesture. Congress should insist that the two radios have the funds to continue beaming their messages of truth.



(The Ann Arbor News  
ANN ARBOR, MICH.  
D. 38,589

MAR 29 1972 *By Fulbright*

## They've Earned A Reprieve

SEN. FULBRIGHT calls them relics of the cold war and an irritant to East-West relations, but Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty ought to be allowed to continue beaming their message to Eastern Europe. The reprieve recently granted by the Senate expires in June.

The stations serve a useful purpose. They counteract to some extent Soviet and Communist bloc programming. When they play the news straight without hard sell propagandizing, these stations perform a service which contrasts remarkably with the state run radio of the Communist states.

Whether RFE has been used to serve the interests of the CIA we

don't know. There ought not be any link to the CIA. News of conditions behind the Curtain is often passed on by recent arrivals who have fled Eastern Europe. When some of these help to staff the stations, the anti-Communist viewpoint understandably at times becomes fairly strong. One would expect this from those familiar with terror and repression.

By the same token, the word of these brave souls may be more accurate in some instances than the more established sources. When troops are cut back and withdrawn, RFE and Radio Liberty may be all that is left in this part of the world. These voices ought not be silenced yet.



SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.  
SAN GABRIEL VALLEY  
TRIBUNE  
D. 66,500 S. 68,000

MAR 25 1972 *R. Fuller*

## Fulbright Muzzles Voice of Freedom

U.S. Sen. J. William Fulbright is elected by the people of Arkansas and held accountable at the polls only to them. But, what he does often affects us all. This consistent opponent of the President's foreign policy is now in the process of choking off the only voices of freedom available to Communist-controlled peoples.

These voices are Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts messages of freedom and truth to people in Eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty, which carries the same message to people in the Soviet Union.

"Now after 20 years of such indispensable service," reports Rep. Gene Snyder, "it appears that these two voices of liberty are going to have to shut down.

"But should these broadcasts cease, it will not be because Congress has decided they have become useless. On the contrary, both houses of Congress have already approved a continuation of the programs. Since the bill passed by the House differed from that approved by the Senate, it was necessary

to send the bills to a House-Senate conference committee to reconcile the difference.

"It has been the opposition of three of the five senators in that conference, led by Fulbright, that has led to the present stalemate.

"Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has refused to accept any compromise.

"So the legislation is stuck — and without congressional authorization and provision of necessary funds, these two programs can not be continued," according to Congressman Snyder.

Thus it appears that Senator Fulbright and his allies have made good their boast that they will see expiration of the existing authority as an opportunity to kill these programs.

The senator from Arkansas, in so doing, has thwarted a program believed important to people in other states. But, then Fulbright has to answer only to the voters in Arkansas — and Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty aren't among their prime concerns.

KCBS NEWSRAD

ONE MICHAEL ALVARO CENTER  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94111  
PHONE (415) 982-7000. CBS OWNED

## EDITORIAL

This is one of a continuing series of KCBS Radio editorials on topics of vital interest to the community. Responsible representatives of opposing viewpoints are given the opportunity to reply on the air. If you missed the broadcast of this editorial, we hope you will read it. Your comments are always most welcome.

Peter M. McCoy, Vice President, CBS Radio Division  
General Manager, KCBS Radio

SUBJECT: Shut Them Down?  
72-31

BROADCAST: March 7, 1972

AM: 12:15, 3:15, 5:15, 8:15 AM; 12:15, 4:15, 6:15, 9:15 PM  
Repeated: Saturday, March 11, 1972 - 12:15 PM  
Sunday, March 12, 1972 - 6:15 PM

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are two of the most effective weapons in the western arsenal. Neither can be stopped by bullets or bombast. Unfortunately, Senator J. W. Fulbright doesn't share that view.

Senator Fulbright contends both are relics of the "cold war." He thinks they are no longer necessary. As a result, he has effectively stymied further progress of legislation to continue financing of both services. What jamming and bullets couldn't achieve, Senator Fulbright may accomplish through fiscal strangulation.

In a nation founded on the principle of providing free and open speech, such suggestions seem strange. Coming from a Senator, whose colleagues pride themselves on their right and ability to filibuster, the pronouncement is incredible.

KCBS can't agree with Senator Fulbright's position. Rather than shut Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty down, we ought to expand such services. A free idea is a very lethal weapon against demagogues and dictators.

We are continually told that America is misunderstood abroad. To eliminate a possible link with many parts of the world, where the lack of free ideas have contributed to that misunderstanding, is not only folly, but it strikes us also as rather poor foreign relations.

\* \* \* \* \*

translation

La Tribune de Geneve (Swiss daily -- Independent -- circ. 62,000)

April 14, 1972

editorial:

## WAVES OF THE AIRWAVES

by Alexandre Bruggmann

"If we happen to learn anything about events in our country, it is through Radio Liberty", said Alexander Solzhenitsyn recently. And he said this after having criticized the lack of objectivity of the Soviet press in which, what is worse, not much useful information can ever be found.

Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe are American radios stationed in Federal Germany and directed toward the countries of Eastern Europe. Their (future) existence is in doubt, assured only through June. After that date, everything will depend upon the Nixon government's attitude in face of proposals coming from a group of senators headed by Mr. Fulbright.

He and his friends, along with a handful of West German Social Democrats, believe that broadcasting a program of information and commentary in the languages of the East European is irreconcilable with a policy of detente.

Created at a time when East-West relations were particularly bad, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe have had a double goal from the outset. While, on the one hand, they were charged with the task of transmitting information (otherwise) unavailable to those countries with a (state-) directed press, they also had to make outright propaganda.

It is undeniable that the two radios were partly responsible for certain illusions about possible Western support in case of "rebellion", for circulating rumors, notably, on the occasion of the workers' uprising in East Berlin or on the occasion of what Moscow called the Hungarian "counter-revolution" of 1956. The populations were incited over the (air)waves to "shake off the yoke."

For over ten years now the broadcasts to Eastern Europe have lost this dubious propaganda function. Even after the Czechoslovak events, no one in Moscow or Prague sought to incriminate the radios which, after their grave initial errors, contented themselves with broadcasting and commenting on verified information.

In those states (Eastern Europe), where the audio-visual as well as the written press are direct voices of an all-powerful apparatus, there

can no longer exist a question of information in the sense we understand this term. Every news item published becomes an element of a certain kind of opiate for the masses. This is why radio broadcasts coming from another source make sense for the populations of the East. (Such broadcasts) enable them to keep alive the freedom of judgment which is being throttled by unilateral information.

In private, high functionaries of this or that member country of the Warsaw Pact readily admit listening to Liberty in order to know what really goes on in the Soviet Union. Also, the East is far from being homogeneous, and the two threatened radios enable the very-much-alive national consciousnesses to keep their reasons for existence; to this end, it is sufficient to be genuinely informed.

At a moment when the clandestine press is getting such wings in the Soviet Union, is it really necessary to cease giving, from the outside, the kind of information to which the populations have a right? Does it mean carrying on a cold war to give indispensable elements to the exercise (of the right) of freedom of thought? \*

translation

Pronouncement by West German Student Organization "RCDS"

April 13, 1972

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NOTE: The Circle of Christian Democratic Students (RCDS), a student organization loosely affiliated to the CDU, announced in Bonn April 13 that its chairman, Gerd Langguth, had written to Chancellor Brandt on the same date, expressing concern about the future of RFE and Radio Liberty. (Despite its CDU ties, RCDS has often disagreed with the Party! For example, it has expressed qualified support for the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw treaties negotiated by the Brandt Government.) Following is a translation of the RCDS press release:

On the basis of letters from East Bloc students to the Ring Christlich-Demokratischer Studenten (RCDS), expressing concern, Gerd Langguth, Federal Chairman of the RCDS, today addressed a letter to Federal Chancellor Brandt. In this appeal, Chancellor Brandt is called upon to use his influence on behalf of the maintenance of the two radio stations Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, since the cries of distress from East Bloc students to the RCDS have shown that these two broadcasting stations represent the sole possibility of contact with the Free West, especially for many young people.

The letter added: "It is precisely for this reason that we regard it as more than regrettable that some SPD Bundestag deputies have urged that the broadcasting licenses for these two radio stations should no longer be renewed."

The RCDS would have especially welcomed action by Brandt to end the speculation about these two radios, and to make clear the interest of the Federal Government "that inhabitants of the East Bloc should continue to receive information from the Free West."

In his letter to the Chancellor, Langguth also clearly endorsed free expression of opinion for the two radio stations which - according to several recent speculations - may possibly no longer be guaranteed, under conditions of "political good conduct" which might be imposed upon them in dealing with the policy of the Federal Government.

(Signed ) Michael Lingenthal, Press Spokesman.

Finanz und Wirtschaft (Swiss semi-weekly financial publication --

Conservative -- circ. 15,000)

March 29, 1972

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article:

## FATEFUL MISTAKES

by Salvador Madariaga

Even the honest efforts of the most enlightened men in public life in the USA were not able to save the operation of the two radio stations, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, from being silenced. Senator Fulbright was not willing to grant them more than a grace period of a few months, and thus the United States, should nothing happen by June of this year, will have committed one of its most fateful mistakes.

### Freedom Stations

It would be superfluous to point out these two stations' worthwhile achievements. Their most important task consists in keeping alive, intellectually and morally, millions of Europeans who otherwise would vegetate away in the enormous prison represented by the Soviet Union and its European colonies. The two radio stations make it possible for these people to participate not only in the daily life of the West but in that of the entire world -- including the Soviet Union, whose news service serves more to mask and manipulate than to inform. This fact is so obvious that I do not wish to deal further with it here, particularly because my topic today deals with another question.

It is a matter of pointing out and investigating a noteworthy state of affairs: namely, that the author of the plan to silence (the stations) mentioned at the outset is in no way a fool, but rather an unusually bright man. Wherein lies the explanation of such an enormous paradox? The answer will emerge in the course of investigating the arguments which Senator Fulbright himself advances.

The first argument says that no nation should interfere in the internal affairs of another nation. Without a doubt, this has for ages been an excellent principle for international behavior, but it long ago lost its effectiveness. At the time when President (and) General Washington formulated it, it took months for the ideas propagated in New York to reach Russia. Today, this takes place in split seconds. The world has shrunk and its public opinion has become a unified entity. The main object of the contemporary battle is the winning of hearts with the help of words.

Senator Fulbright, however, appears to be of the opinion that it is a matter of territory and weapons. That is the root of his error. By having the two stations silenced, he disarms the nations of the West and discourages the peoples of Eastern Europe. And he is not likely to consider the fact that -- when he condemns Russia's intellectual breath to suffocation -- he is interfering just as much in Russia's internal affairs as if he were not doing so. In the final analysis, he would be doing so only to an even greater extent, for speaking the truth does not represent interference for the country to which it is directed; but to permit a nation to be misled represents interference in the freedom of a people. Therefore, Senator Fulbright's first argument is untenable.

The second reason that he cites says that the two stations are continuing a cold war which has already ended. Of all self-deceptions, this is probably the most fantastic. For the rejection of the liberal system in the West on the part of the Soviet Union is absolute, and the cold war can only be ended in one of the following three ways: either through the conversion of Russia to a form of liberal socialism or through the conquering of Europe by the Red Army, which would force Communism on the West with gunbarrels, or by a series of (more or less spontaneous) revolutions along Cuban or Chilean lines, such as Berlinguer is preparing in Italy with his remarkable imitation of Cavour. In the meantime, the Soviet Union protects its public opinion from the consequences of the truth by locking up its dissidents and, with the help of Fulbright, taking the air and the light of the West away from its people. Thus, the second argument is untenable.

#### Stalin Refused

The third says that one should make concessions to the Soviet Union and in this way contribute to detente. If, however, one were to ask Senator Fulbright when the Soviet Union ever made a concession in the last fifty years, he would find himself in a very uncomfortable pinch indeed. Besides, there is tension from the East vis-a-vis the West. But from the West to East, there is none.

When the USA called into being the Marshall Plan, it offered its benefits to the Soviet Union as well. Stalin rejected this and in addition forced Czechoslovakia to turn down the assistance. The West has repeatedly shown that as far as it is concerned no tension exists vis-a-vis the Soviet Union -- while the exact opposite is true in the case of the Soviet Union, for it itself causes the tension. The United States only armed itself because the Soviet Union forced it to through its own collection of weapons.

--And then there's still the iron curtain and the Berlin wall. What do they prove? In the West, there is no tension vis-a-vis the East; any resident of the West can go to the East through the curtain and the wall - assuming

that he is let in. But the tension prevailing in the East against the West is so strong that no one from the East zone is allowed into the West, and if he goes anyway, he is shot.

Lack of Understanding

Therefore, Senator Fulbright's disastrous plan and his inflexible blindness show a catastrophic lack of understanding of the true state of affairs:

- he thinks the cold war is over, while it is more alive than ever;
- he thinks it is (or was) a war in which the conquering of territory by means of weapons was involved (which could, by the way, still happen), while it is here a matter of winning hearts with words and brains;
- he thinks we should make concessions in the interest of "relaxation of tensions", while there is in fact only one single tension, namely the one which the Soviet Union purposely causes in its relations with the West;
- he thinks that the East in a homogeneous world, while it is really divided: into an upper level of governments -- against the West -- and a lower level of the governed -- with the West.

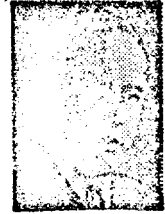
One can but wonder how it is possible that a bright and honest man can stray so far from the path of reality. Probably because there are many people who permit themselves to be misled by the very clever campaign of confusion with slogans like "cold war", detente, iron curtain, with this whole pointless and meaningless language.

The Senator is in large, if not good, company, and the source of confusion which led him not only to approve of but to encourage the intellectual suffocation of the peoples of Eastern Europe is the same as that which led Federal Chancellor Brandt -- another intelligent and honest man -- to believe that, with those dubious treaties, he was working for peace. In both cases, it is not the eyes, but the (good) sense which has been struck blind.





Rowland Evans and Robert Novak



## Poles Aid Drive Against RFE

THE PRESENT drive to end vital U.S. government subsidies for Radio Free Europe (RFE) is being aided by a clandestine operation of the Polish Communist Party, according to a confidential report from a reliable informant inside Poland.

This informant reports that the now deposed regime of then party boss Wladyslaw Gomulka about two years ago became dissatisfied with the lack of action on RFE, the Munich-based station which beams broadcasts to Poland and other Eastern European Communist states. Consequently, it set up a secret group to "systematically instigate opposition toward RFE" with \$3 million funneled into Poland's Washington embassy.

In charge of the operation, according to this report, is Ryszard Frelek, a member of the party secretariat. Besides stirring up opposition, it was charged with responsibility for supplying helpful information to American foes of RFE.

Serious American students of the Polish situation doubt that anything close to \$3 million was appropriated for this purpose. However, the in-

formant's past record is good enough to make the outlines of the story credible.

Actually, anti-RFE operations in Warsaw remained strictly secret until February when rumors began pouring out. "It is assumed that they were started by former Gomulka men who were removed from this project," the informant reports.

However, he adds that there is divided opinion deep inside the Polish United Workers' Party—the country's Communist party—about RFE. In party discussions, he says, it is noted RFE not only "creates many problems for the party leadership" but also provides some benefits.

Without RFE, almost all seem to agree, Soviet instructions would be more strict and also there would be a trend to fall in line with other Soviet republics," he adds.

A footnote: The informant reveals that party secretary Jerzy Lukaszewicz recently called in the heads of Poland's newspapers and radio stations to caution them not to go overboard in praising Sen. J. W. Fulbright's drive against RFE. "The mass media in Poland should use only information from the

Polish press agency without any embellishment of their own," according to the informant.

### McGovern Dilemma

SEN. GEORGE McGovern, father of the reforms that have revolutionized the Democratic national convention structure, is saying privately that he does not approve of efforts by his followers to unseat the Chicago delegates of Mayor Richard J. Daley.

Ironically, the Chicago challenge is viewed nationally by anti-organization Democrats as a test case for rigorous enforcement of delegate guidelines adopted by the McGovern commission. But McGovern, now not merely a reformer but a front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination, does not wish to alienate Daley.

The challenge against 53 uncommitted Chicago delegates and six more in the suburbs who were elected in the March 21 Illinois primary is based on the charge that they were hand-picked and supported by the mayor's regular party organization in defiance of McGovern commission guidelines. Alderman

William Singer, a McGovern supporter who is heading the challenge, was told by two McGovern aides weeks ago that he definitely would have the senator's support.

They were wrong. Although he has made no public declaration, McGovern privately is inclined against supporting the challenge because the Daley delegates were elected by the public—most of them without opposition from McGovern states.

But beyond that, McGovern hopes that Daley, whose distaste for Sen. Hubert Humphrey is well known, might chose McGovern in a McGovern-Humphrey confrontation. Such an endorsement could erode anti-McGovern feeling by other key party regulars, such as Pete Camiel of Philadelphia.

However, McGovern now will be pressured by his followers to publicly endorse the Chicago challenge. Their argument: Failure to do so would demoralize Democrats around the country who, unlike Daley, have scrupulously and painfully followed the McGovern commission guidelines. In effect, they argue, McGovern would be destroying his own creation.

Publishers-Hall Syndicate

# Fulbright's 'Cold War Relics' in Danger

By DUMITRU DANIELOPOL in the San Diego Union

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have been granted a stay of execution, but their life hangs by a thread.

Their future, literally, is in the hands of the American people.

If by June 30 the public hasn't made it quite plain by floods of letters and telegrams to their senators that they want the two stations to continue to broadcast to the people behind the Iron Curtain, the two major Western radio voices will be silenced. It's as simple as that.

Without a massive letter-writing effort, the Senate will not override obstinate Sen. J. William Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, who is determined to end the Munich-based operations.

A tricky situation began to develop last year when President Nixon made public the fact that the Central Intel-

ligence Agency had been providing most of the money for the two stations. Since then they have been funded publicly by Congress. Now Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Fulbright has balked. He has agreed to appropriate funds only until June 30.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "are Cold War relics," Fulbright says. They will continue to function after June 30, he adds, over his "dead body."

The senator's attitude has caused a furor not only in the United States, but in other parts of the world. While the Soviet bloc is overjoyed, the *Congressional Record* carries page after page of editorials and statements from Western Europe deploring Fulbright's stand.

President Nixon has expressed concern.

A bi-partisan citizen's committee, including leaders in the field of finance and industry, former government officials and diplomats, teachers and labor leaders has been formed to support the stations.

Millions of ethnics, especially those from the Eastern European target area, have conveyed through their leaders their pleas that the broadcasting continue.

Some 57 senators have signed a resolution presented by Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.) asking for the preservation of RFE and Radio Liberty. This augurs well, but any such action must go through the Foreign Relations Committee.

Fulbright is not likely to change his mind unless a massive outpouring of opinion from every corner of the United States makes the Senate conscious of the public mood.

The time is short.



A massive letter-writing campaign might well deter the Arkansas solon from carrying out his vendetta against the free radio operations.

# Our Man Beelzebub

## Gehlen: Spy of the Century by E. H. Cookbridge

(Random House; \$10)

## The General Was a Spy by Heinz Hohne and Hermann Zolling

(Coward, McCann & Geoghegan; \$8.95)

A year before Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech in Fulton, Missouri, which formally stated the theme of Act I of the Cold War, a prologue was being written and played backstage in Europe by Americans and Germans. They had already identified Soviet Communism as Enemy Number One, not primarily because Russia had Eastern Europe in its grip, but because Soviet Communism was satanic and was set on conquering the world. And as Hugh Trevor-Roper remarks in his introduction to *The General Was a Spy*, "it is legitimate to use Beelzebub to drive out Satan." Beelzebub was willing. Both these spy stories describe how and why, with the collapse of the German armies, the Americans recruited Hitler's Chief of Intelligence against the Soviet Union and underwrote his postwar espionage operations.

Reinhard Gehlen was a professional, an experienced, single-minded anti-Communist with exceptional contacts. Those who hired him were not of the breed of Henry Stimson, who once said quaintly that gentlemen don't read other people's mail. They were what came to be called realists, and they dominated US foreign policy for the next quarter of a century. The US government secretly financed General Gehlen to the amount of \$200 million, and when he finally left his American supervisors and went to work directly for the Bonn government, Mr. Cookbridge tells us, Allen Dulles gave him "a golden handshake in appreciation of the great work he had done for CIA; a gratuity of 250,000 marks had been authorized. Dulles added the not entirely seriously meant condition that Gehlen should use the money to buy a fine house somewhere in the Bavarian mountains." For the \$200 million, CIA received mountains of paper and thousands of

clandestine tips on Eastern Europe and the USSR. Toward the end, it learned that much of the information was useless; and it learned something more disturbing: the Gehlen organization had been penetrated by the Soviets. By the early '60s, Washington's interest had cooled.

*The General Was a Spy* is drawn from a series of articles written by two German journalists for *Der Spiegel*. *Gehlen: Spy of the Century* is the product of a European educated British journalist who was himself an intelligence agent in World War II and was imprisoned by the Gestapo. Hohne and Zolling offer a more detailed and dispassionate account and focus more sharply on the intricacies of the postwar intelligence network inside Germany; they are less revealing than Cookbridge, however, on the American involvement and on the Nazi backgrounds of Gehlen's associates.

Gehlen served any master who served his purpose, which was the undermining and the destruction of Communism. When it could no longer be doubted that the German armies were defeated, Gehlen turned to the *Werewolves*, the young terrorists who were to carry on after Hitler's collapse. The *Werewolf* project had been discussed at one of Gehlen's last meetings with the Fuhrer, whom Gehlen found "most charming." They had also discussed Hitler's order that "gramophone records with sound effects of combat noise and rolling tanks . . . be distributed to front line commands and played from dugouts as near as possible to the Soviet lines." Hitler was mad, Gehlen was not. Yet Gehlen accepted this order, as all the others, knowing it was too late to stave off disaster, but obedient to authority. He did not desert until there was nothing to desert from. He played

part in any German plot against the Nazi leaders. He waited until the end and then escaped to Bavaria, in early 1945, taking with him files he knew would interest the Americans—to whom he intended to surrender at a price. He met with Brigadier General Edwin L. Sibert, senior intelligence officer of the American Zone, who (report Hohne and Zolling) "while fighting was still in progress in France . . . had been prepared to make use of Adolf Hitler's officers in the cause of American strategy" and who "had a most excellent impression of him [Gehlen] at once." Sibert promptly took up with General Bedell Smith, US chief of staff, Gehlen's proposal to set up a German intelligence service "financed by the US and directed against the Soviet Union." Bedell Smith "okayed" the project, according to Hohne and Zolling, but did not inform Eisenhower, the Supreme Commander, who had forbidden fraternization with Germans. After lengthy interrogation in Germany, Gehlen was flown to Washington.

Though friendship with Moscow was then official US policy, Cookbridge points out, Gehlen knew that "many generals, above all General George V. Strong, the chief of G-2 army intelligence, and Sibert, were very far from regarding the Soviet Union as a future ally. In fact, a vastly different vision was taking place at the Third Army headquarters at Bad Toelz, near where he [Gehlen] had buried his . . . files. There General Patton was dreaming of rearming a couple of Waffen SS divisions to incorporate them into his Third Army and 'lead them against the Reds.'" Said Patton: "We're going to have to fight them sooner or later. Why not now while our army is intact and we can kick the Red army back into Russia? We can do it with my Germans. . . . They hate those Red bastards."

That, of course, went way beyond anything Gehlen's captors had in mind. They wanted information; Gehlen had it. So, says Cookbridge, they treated him with great courtesy, "wooing him like a wayward lass who can bring a large dowry to offset the blemishes of her past. . . . Gehlen bargained his way into the gray dawn of Cold War espionage, conceding or compromising on some points, using pressures near to blackmail to gain others. It says much for his shrewdness, self-assurance and persistence that he was able to take on singlehanded such an array of top-ranking American experts." They agreed to

# CAPITOL STUFF

By JERRY GREENE

Washington, April 17 — Neither Secretary of State William P. Rogers nor the Senate Foreign Relations Committee probed even once today on the basic reason for bombing Haiphong and Hanoi—the necessity felt at the White House to counter a new power thrust by Russia.

As a revived sounding board for a thunderous blast at the administration's Vietnam policies, the committee session fell on its face by comparison with the productions of earlier years.

## Bomb Message Really Aimed At the Kremlin

Rogers would not be cowed by Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), the vitriolic chairman, nor would he back off an inch to give aid and comfort to Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) in his efforts to hang the President on the campaign oratory of 1968. The committee's war critics, a majority of the membership, were subdued somewhat after Sen. George Aiken (R-Vt.) deserted their ranks for emotional support of the President.

The Rogers defense, delivered off the cuff but obviously well rehearsed, was along expected, oft-used lines: to protect U.S. troops, to assure continued withdrawal of GIs, and to help the South Vietnamese protect themselves.

But Rogers did not, nor could he have done so, as the nation's chief diplomat, make any mention of what for many months has been the cause of principal concern to the foreign policy experts. This has been the open, almost reckless, and certainly aggressive inclination of the government in the Kremlin to push Communist influence in any direction where a weakness was spotted.

This Soviet policy, evident in Egypt, in Syria, in India and the Indian Ocean, in the eastern Mediterranean, seems to have escaped the notice of Chairman Fulbright.

The senator, in commenting on the bombing, told Rogers: "I, for one, cannot possibly understand what consideration warranted these drastic measures."

Fulbright, of course, has unilaterally declared the cold war ended during his efforts to shut down Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty; no such signs of armistice have come out of Moscow yet.

Rogers could have told the committee under other circumstances, and the information is readily available at several points in the capital, that Russia began delivering to North Vietnam the heavy and sophisticated arms required for conventional offensive warfare just 12 months ago.

Back during the air strike days of 1967-68 the Russians had supplied Hanoi with powerful defensive armaments, surface-to-air missiles and radar-directed automatic antiaircraft artillery. But the heavy artillery, the tanks and the armored personnel carriers for frontal assault did not appear in Haiphong Harbor until early last spring.

## Caused Months of Worry

This development of an offensive conventional war capability by the North Vietnamese has been a worrisome thing for the American officials for many months. They had been expecting the assault when United States ground troops were reduced to a small security force level. Russian armaments, valued at \$500 million in 1967, then dropped off to \$40 million in 1970, had climbed back to \$100 million in 1972.

The Soviet push in the Middle East and in India and Bangladesh had been an unbroken stride by the Russians as they continued the preparations for the Hanoi offensive.

This Kremlin foreign policy movement, everywhere opportunity presented itself, appeared to be reaching ominous proportions, despite the simultaneous steps toward easier relations with the U.S. and Western Europe.

What would appear to be a hopeless contradiction to a free-world mind was a state of affairs quite acceptable to the Kremlin Communists; Hanoi was quite clearly going along with the proclaimed doctrine of the late Ho Chi Minh that a time of negotiations was the time to improve one's military position for a climactic blow.

## What They Need From West

Additionally, it is believed here that Russia, for internal reasons, badly needs an accord with the West; the Soviets want an easing of tension between East and West Germany; they want urgently a trade agreement with the U.S., and, now that they have parity or better in nuclear weapons, they want the strategic arms limitation pact to cut the costs of the missile race.

As a specific example, Russia is woefully short of feed grain for livestock. Agriculture Secretary Earl L. Butz has been exploring the possibility of selling \$200 million a year worth of grain to the Soviets, who quite naturally want long-term, cheap credit.

With President Nixon urgently in pursuit of peace through summitry, with the election year hampering his reactions through domestic pressures, the Russians felt smug and secure in promoting the Hanoi plans for invasion and a Saigon knockout.

Thus, apart from the needs of the battlefield, the necessity for smashing the supply dumps supporting the 12-division invasion, Nixon became convinced that only a spectacular, dramatic response would in turn impress the Kremlin with the seriousness with which we regarded the Soviet play at brinkmanship.

Officials here believe the Russians are getting the message, that they will leave it to Hanoi to salvage what it can of the invasion and go on about their other business almost as if North Vietnam did not exist.



Sen. J. William Fulbright  
*The motive escapes him*

16 April 1972

STATINTL

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100

# Radio stations deceived Americans

Robert White's article on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty was interesting, and his advocacy of continued funding for the stations on the basis of good programming and large audiences is understandable, but there are questions more profound that need to be asked.

Integrity of government in dealing with its citizens is also at stake, as well as the more practical diplomatic problem posed by American installations in friendly foreign nations promoting anti-Soviet propaganda.

The prime grievance we all should have against RFE and RL stems from their long deception of the American people. For more than 20 years the operations were billed as voluntary enterprises supported by the contributions of Americans. Advertising, particularly by RFE, was always urgently directed toward Americans to help bring "truth" to the prisoners of communism.

Both organizations were set up as corporations with big-name Americans on their letterheads as a blind to hide their true source of support. And while the deception was an open secret among well-informed people, the conspiracy of political silence was total until Sen. Case disclosed their CIA funding.

Another part of the deception has been the use of prominent American travelers and scholars behind the Iron Curtain as informants for RFE and RL. Many such trips, supposedly innocent of espionage, were sponsored by and paid for from CIA funds, using RFE and RL as fronts for people doing "research."

A good deal of the scholarship and research generated in support of RFE and

RL has always been CIA-funded. I suppose that many of the people who performed the tasks were not fully aware of the identity of their sponsors.

It is these peripheral activities of RFE and RL I believe to be the most corrupting, because they strike at the very root of intellectual integrity.

It may be true, as White says, that RFE and RL have large followings behind the Iron Curtain, but they are not the only foreign broadcasters to the Communist world, nor are they necessarily the best. BBC certainly was, and I hope still is, extremely effective.

Another difficulty with the two stations, now that their cover has been "blown," is that they are official foreign installations disturbing to the political sovereignty of the host nations. When the pretense could be maintained that RFE and RL were private and not related to the U.S. government, host nations could ignore Soviet protests. This they now will find difficult.

RFE and RL are headquartered in Munich, but some of their transmitters are located in places other than West Germany. How can such countries openly accommodate those broadcast facilities, which are so unremittingly hostile to Soviet interests?

How would we feel if the Soviets had a series of powerful transmitters in Mexico, spilling Soviet propaganda into the Unit-

ed States? Can West Germany now continue to permit those troublesome installations to remain within its borders when the West German government is trying to heal some of the wounds of World War II? Surely Soviet negotiators have a good argument in dealing with German officials.

I hold no brief for the Soviet paranoia about free circulation of news, but I think that justification of the expense of maintaining RFE and RL is pretty shaky, both in the light of past ineffectiveness in altering Soviet policy and in the light of present availability of a great many programs from the radio stations of other nations, including our own Voice of America—Ervin J. Gaines, director, Minneapolis Public Library.

Editor's note: Dr. Gaines was on the administrative staff of Radio Liberty from 1952 to 1954.

STATINTL

U.S. Press - Editorials - Positive

ADDITIONS TO APRIL 13, 1972 LISTNo. of other  
appearances

Journal (Winston-Salem, N. C.) - "Windows in the Wall" - Mar. 15

Broadcasting (Wash., D. C.) - "One-Man Rule?" - Mar. 20

News-Press (Santa Barbara, Cal.) - "East Bloc Depends on News Flow" - Mar. 23

News (Hemet, Cal.) - "Senator Fulbright's Cole War Relics" - Mar. 23

Palladium Item and Sun Telegram (Richmond, Ind.) - "These Broadcasts Needed" - Mar. 23

Jewish Week and American Examiner (D. C.) - "Immigrants Plead for Radio Liberty" - Mar. 23

Lubbock Avalanche Journal (Texas) - "Rebuff for Fulbright: Funds for Freedom Radio Needed" - Mar. 27

Register (Richmond, Ky.) - "Fulbright's Power" - Mar. 29

The Boston Herald Traveler - "Reprieve for RFE and RL" - Mar. 29

Advertiser (Salisbury, Md.) - "Radio Free Europe" - Mar. 30

Arcadian Tribune (Rayne, La.) - "The Arkansas Statesman" - Mar. 30

The Plain Dealer (Cleveland) - "No U.S. Gag in World Debate" - Apr. 1

Chicago Tribune - "Sen. Fulbright's Latest Beef" - April 10

MARTINSVILLE, VA.  
BULLETIN  
D. 15,500 S. 14,500

MAR 26 1972 *B.L.R.*



NOTE: Both Communist and Western press reports on Ahlers' statement interpreted it as saying there were new, active talks underway between Washington and Bonn

# Bonn Clarifies Radio Stand

Chicago Daily News

BONN—Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty may be under fire from Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), West German members of parliament and communist east Europe, but officials here have clarified that there is no West German-American plan to shut the stations down.

A misinterpretation, however, has sprung up in the West German press over a statement by Bonn government press spokesman Conrad Ahlers that the two governments are "in contact" about the work of the stations, which broadcast into east Europe.

"I'm sure he meant we are in constant touch on the stations and their operations," an American embassy spokesman said. "But we are not discussing the question of opening or closing the stations."

Ahlers explained today that he "never said they were new contacts."

But that impression was given following the announcement that eight members of chancellor Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party had sent telegrams to Brandt and President Nixon asking that the stations be closed down after June 30. That is the date temporary funding for the former CIA-backed stations ends.

Sen. Fulbright has led the congressional fight against President Nixon's plans for open government support of the stations.

The telegrams will fuel the Fulbright campaign, though they are an embarrassment to Brandt. The Bonn government has supported the stations even though they are sharply attacked by the east European governments with whom Brandt is trying to improve relations through his *ostpolitik*.

"The Bonn government acknowledges the importance of the stations

for the dissemination of free information to the people in the east bloc," Ahlers said in his statement. "On the other hand it is concerned that the programs of the stations should not set back the development of West Germany's foreign relations."

The eight members of parliament — mostly young, liberal and outspoken — argued in their telegrams that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are a "stumbling block" to German foreign policy. They said the presence of the American-controlled stations "raises doubts about the sovereignty" of West Germany. They suggested that the stations

be turned over to the Deutsche Welle, a German international broadcasting service.

Two stations operate on licenses granted by the West German government. Offices

and studios are located in Munich and most of the transmitter facilities are also here in West Germany.

The licenses are renewed every year in July,

automatically unless one party or the other raises an objection. And American embassy officials say there has never been any question raised about renewing the licenses.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.  
VETERANS NEWS  
W. 28,000

MAR 30 1972

*By Miller*

***VFW Chief Supports  
Radio Free Europe***

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Mr. Joseph L. Vicites, Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, added the weight of the more than 1,700,000 members of the VFW to those who support the continued operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Nothing that "a small band of willful men" were instrumental in blocking US accession to the post-World War I League of Nations and thus helped pave the way for World War II, Mr. Vicites called for a "fully funded and unhampered operation by these two radio systems whose objectivity and technical competence have just been re-verified by a comprehensive Library of Congress Study."



# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 1972



*Marquis Childs*

## Broadcasting And Westpolitik

ONE OF THOSE bones of contention calculated to create the utmost ill will is before the Congress with the path to final decision sown with booby traps. The question is whether Radio Free Europe is a vestige of the Cold War that should be closed out in light of the new Nixon approach to the Soviet Union or whether it is an invaluable window to the West for the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe fed solely on government propaganda.

It is an issue freighted with all the fears and suspicions of the past; the tragedy of refugees who have seen their homelands turned into prisons by Communist walls. Passionate partisans of RFE scoff at economizing by cutting off the \$36 million for the operation. Their villain is J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who supported a bill providing funds for RFE only until the June 30 end of the fiscal year. After that date its future is uncertain, unless the administration acts quickly to push a new status for a further appropriation.

Fulbright points out that the cutoff date was initiated by Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey, a Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee. While Case is not enthusiastic about RFE, he would not oppose continuing it if some new framework could be established.

Here, in my opinion, is an example of the cost of fail-

ing to grapple with a long-outmoded condition and simply letting drift take over. The Central Intelligence Agency provided the money for RFE for many years in a semi-secret fashion. A facade that public contributions supported both RFE and Radio Liberty was just that, since most of the money came from the CIA.

THE TIME had long passed for the CIA to be in the business of operating a semi-clandestine propaganda station based in Munich. With the facts about the CIA's involvement revealed, the moment was at hand to face up and ask Congress for a direct appropriation.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee initiated a bill, later passed by the House, setting up a semi-governmental corporation to operate the two stations for a trial period of two years. That proposal died in conference when the conferees accepted the Case compromise for a June 30 cutoff.

What is the value of the broadcasts that RFE beams to the Soviet Union and the satellite states? Here intangibles galore enter in. The passionate partisans insist that the broadcasts keep alive the hope of dissent. The legislative reference branch of the Congress made a favorable report which Senator Fulbright put in the Congressional Record.

But doubters believe the broadcasts are an irritant that stiffens the resistance of Communist governments

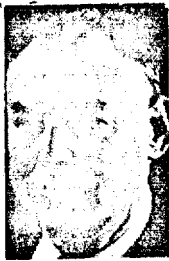
to any dissent and makes the lives of the dissenters even harsher than they would otherwise be. When Secretary of State William P. Rogers was before the committee, Fulbright repeatedly sought to draw him out on whether RFE and Radio Liberty were an impediment to any understanding with the Soviet Union. Rogers cited the series of agreements currently in the works, including the two-year cultural agreement just signed.

THE CIA stopped funding the stations July 1, 1971, and the order from the top was to have no further connection with their operation. The CIA had done a study at the request of the Office of Management and Budget in the White House dealing solely with the cost of liquidating the operation. This would be considerable, since RFE has 2,600 employees, the majority refugees and many advanced in years.

Why shouldn't Germany share a part of the cost of the stations that broadcast from German soil? Or NATO?

There is a compromise which might assuage the partisan passions. That is for Congress to vote funds for an additional six months of operation beyond June 30. During that time a high-level panel to be named by the White House, perhaps jointly with Congress, would evaluate the broadcasts. Hopefully, the panel's report would take the whole matter out of the shot and shell of politics.

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They call him "Fulbright" in Czechoslovakia, to rhyme with East Germany's former Stalinoid dictator, the ineffable Herr Walter Ulbricht. In Poland it's "Fulbright-psubrat," or "Fulbright-scoundrel." This information comes from a front-page article in the influential Swiss Neue Zuercher Zeitung written by the paper's East European correspondent, Alexander Korab. Korab thinks the name-calling, which is reminiscent of some of the late Senator Joe McCarthy's cracks, expresses the prevailing mood of the common people of the "East Bloc," who are increasingly hostile toward Sen. J. William Fulbright for his efforts to kill Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the two U.S.-supported stations that broadcast the news to countries behind the Iron Curtain.

In his campaign to liquidate Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty as "relics of the Cold War," Senator Fulbright has said the two broadcasting stations are incompatible with President Nixon's new Chinese policy, which would presumably regard a U.S.-supported Radio Free Asia with a base on Taiwan as an inconsistency. (There does happen to be a South Korean-based outfit called Radio of Free Asia, but it raises its money from private citizens in the U.S. and hence is beyond Fulbright's reach.)

What Fulbright misses is that Nixon's Chinese policy, which takes off from the basic affirmation that Taiwan and mainland China are parts of a single nation (both Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek say so), could not possibly be applied to Eastern Europe or to such parts of the Soviet empire as the Baltic countries, the Moselm inner Asia region or even the Ukraine. These are entities that once had their freedom; in sponsoring broadcasts to them, our government is merely recognizing the doctrine that separate peoples are entitled to a say in their own behalf.

The animus against Fulbright in Poland and Czechoslovakia, as reported by Alexander Korab, corroborates the idea it would take some wrenching to turn Nixon's China policy into an endorsement of the Brezhnev Doctrine that Moscow has a right to send tanks into other socialist nations for Soviet nationalist purposes. If Fulbright can't see this, he can't see anything. No wonder Fulbright now considers Ho Chi Minh to have been a nationalist patriot, not a Marxist zealot.

As a matter of record, a majority of Fulbright's own colleagues in the Senate think he gets blinder by the minute. Working on the Senate floor when Fulbright began his recent attack on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois soon had 20 signatures to a resolution supporting the two broadcasting stations. Sen. Hubert Humphrey put his name to the resolution as a co-sponsor, and the list was quickly enlarged to 57 Senators, including all the then-current Democratic candidates for the Presidential nomination with the single exception of Vance Hartke, who didn't happen to be around.

This was America, the land of ethnic minorities, speaking. With such opposites as Birch Bayh and Barry Goldwater, or Mark Hatfield and Henry Jackson, supporting the resolution, Fulbright might have been expected to surrender his opposition. But no, he has only

## GREENWICH TIME

Established 1861

April 12, 1972

### Chamberlain

(Continued from Page 4)

campaign against Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty long after they had ceased to think in terms of subverting socialism or Communism by encouraging revolution. It so happens that a group of Polish anti-Communist emigrants has just addressed a protest to General Lucius Clay against the broadcasting practices of Jan Nowak, the director of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe, on grounds that he is much too conciliatory toward Communism. They accuse Mr. Nowak of blacklisting all references to anti-Communist Poles, and for speaking of "the necessity to reform the Communist system but not of the necessity to abolish it." Furthermore, so the anti-Communist Poles say Mr. Nowak's broadcasting practices "are anti-German and not anti-Soviet." Nowak's excuse for this is that it is demanded by the "American policy of 'building bridges to the East.'"

Personally, I sympathize with the anti-Communist Polish emigrants, Janusz Kowalewski and Juliusz Sokolnicki, in their desire to see Radio Free Europe broadcast their own unreconstructed feelings about Communism to their countrymen who have not escaped to the West. But why Fulbright should object to the present neutralistic-to-the-news practices of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty is beyond comprehension.

# Chicago Tribune

THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

Monday, April 10, 1972

## Sen. Fulbright's Latest Beef

In the dream world in which he dwells, Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, views Communism as an inoffensive domestic experiment, inclined to live and let live in such places as the Soviet Union, Cuba, China, and Eastern Europe. His fantasy, therefore, is that the United States should not abrade the sensibilities of Communists.

Mr. Fulbright has taken a bead on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, primarily funded by the American government, which broadcast news which people behind the Iron Curtain otherwise would not hear. Their objectivity has been commended by the Library of Congress.

Fulbright was unsuccessful in trying to cut off funds for the stations on the ground that they were "relics of the Cold War." They have been granted enough funds to continue thru June 30 while Congress considers their future.

Balked on this front, Fulbright looked around and discovered that Sen. James Buckley, of the New York Conservative Party, ran a short documentary film on the Russian armed repression of Czechoslovakia in 1968 as part of his monthly television report over a New York channel. The film was produced by the United States Information Agency and the senator obtained a copy from the National Archives. The quality of

the film is attested by the fact that it won an Oscar in 1969.

Sen. Fulbright immediately blew the whistle, pointing out that the law excludes domestic exposure of official overseas propaganda. Sen. Buckley, however, had obtained an opinion from the USIA general counsel that the intention of the law [to prevent the USIA from becoming a propaganda arm for the incumbent political administration] could hardly be considered applicable, in that the film clearly would have no domestic political impact.

The Arkansas senator's feelings were ruffled further when Bruce Herschensohn, producer of the film for USIA, appeared on Buckley's program and, in introducing the film, volunteered the opinion that Fulbright was "very simplistic, very naive, and stupid" in his understanding of propaganda, and that he was trying to "downgrade" the USIA in his campaign against Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

This proved offensive to Fulbright and his adjunct, the New York Times, though we do not recall that either protested when the USIA waived limitations on domestic showing of "Jacqueline Kennedy's Asian Journey." Mr. Herschensohn has now resigned as director of the USIA motion picture and television division, but says he believes his characterization of Fulbright was accurate. We wouldn't argue against it.

TELEGRAM  
(NEWARK-NYC MARKET AREA)  
W. 3.500

APR 4 1972

# C O I N C I D E N T E V E N T S C U R R E N T

Here & Elsewhere  
By Nann Page

## RADIO FREE EUROPE

It seems a strange course of events when our President spends thousands of dollars going to Communist countries with a huge staff of advisors on how to make friends and influence people who now conduct their lives as they see fit, yet at the same time this government is involved in activities designed to undercut the Communist form of government by baiting its citizens with how good the life outside of the Communist control can be!

The question uppermost in the minds of foreigners, whether Communists or not, must be, "can such friendship be trusted when the chips are down?" No foreign country is allowed the beam destructive radio messages to this country. Should one manage to reach a few radio Hams, Washington would call out the Army, Navy and Marines. The Air Force is already tied up in battles.

Isn't it possible for this country to proceed full steam ahead as a Democracy, without spending millions of dollars of the taxpayer's money supporting subversive activities under the guise of giving so-called non-profit, patriotic, organized effort the right of expression, as set forth in the Constitution? Our United States Constitution was never intended as a cover for such activities as are carried out by the CIA, Radio Free Europe and other outfits financed here, but operating abroad, at tremendous cost! All too often paying for these subversive operations takes monies that should pay for services needed in our cities and rural areas. Services these outfits brag about but United States citizens need at home, on a large scale needed to relieve hunger, sickness and prevent crime.

The better part of Democratic action would be, to let those who live in Communist countries solve their problems through pressure on their leaders if they see fit. We have enough domestic problems of our own without becoming bogged down with foreign problems laid upon us by Washington adventurers, who dream of personal empires gained by manipulating bargains in Aid in the name of the people, but managed in the interest of holding companies in the little tax-weary citizens know nothing about and gain nothing from.

President Nixon has just signed a bill authorizing continued Federal financing of "Radio Free Europe" and "Radio Liberty." There two meddling Mattie outfits were set up by the CIA, and Operations Based in Munich, in 1950. Their programs were beamed to Rus-

sia and other Communist countries, urging insurrection.

Last week, after the exposure of the United States intrigue, President Nixon ordered the CIA to disassociate itself. This was a thin ploy. The government is funding the operations to the extent of thirty-six million dollars to last just until June of this year.

While Senator Fulbright insisted that the programs be discontinued, there are those in both the House and Senate who are of the opinion to hang on, even having the stupidity to consider asking other countries to chip in. Apparently no other countries now are as Gung-Ho about Communists as the United States. We can expect Munich to like the program, since it brings most of the operating cost smack dab into the German Coopers. From time to time now Germany (West) tells us where to head in, in no uncertain language. President Nixon would hardly remove the operations from Germany. Especially not when every suggestion he gets on foreign policy comes from one of his many German advisors based in the White House. One advisor was active in the Hitler Youth movement. According to Anderson, Ex-Nazis have been guest of Nixon at the White House. How about that for Democracy.

APR 2 1972

Ramblin



# Radio Free Europe fighting sound barrier

By Msgr. R. G. Peters

Radio Free Europe is in the news these days. Along with Radio Liberty (which broadcasts only to Russia) it has for more than 20 years been for citizens behind the Iron Curtain the only real source of information about what goes on in the free world — and even in their own countries.

But the lives of both these stations are threatened. By the time this appears the debate may have been settled one way or the other. Last year Nixon ended CIA funding of the stations and asked that a public-private corporation be set up to fund and run them.

Both the Senate and the House voted emergency funds to tide the stations over until such a program had been set up. But the two bills differ on time, and Senator Fulbright has worked to prevent compromise — and by such delay to kill the stations.

My own special interest goes back to the day in 1967 when I was fortunate enough to get a special look at the Radio Free Europe headquarters in Munich. (The station is located there — as are nearly a thousand of the 1,600 employees — but the transmitting towers are in Portugal, a better spot for technical purposes.)

Some idea of the importance of the stations on Eastern Europe is the fact that it was allowed to build its large headquarters in Munich's sacrosanct English Gardens (something like building in Central Park in New York).

We were allowed to sit in on the daily policy session at RFE that morning. It's a round-table in which the heads of the various national bureaus and their advisors discuss current developments and plan the angles they will stress in their broadcasts.

Among the items covered that day, for instance, was the trend, backed by the Russian paper, *Izvestia*, to have collective farms promote private initiative; and the fact that Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, had turned down a quarter of a million dollars in order to appear on an educational TV program. This latter would be used on all broadcasts to counter the Russian charges of commercialism made against her.

The completeness of the RFE files was impressive. There were 80 on the local research staff, who interviewed refugees, monitored broadcasts from Communist countries, and also studied about 2,000 publications, 850 of them Communist.

The result was the best research center on Eastern Europe in the world.

rope in the world — and one used by many other people and organizations.

Most important was the fact that, after an original mistaken approach, RFE emphasizes evolution rather than revolution in its broadcasts. They continually, for example, encourage regimes when they make a democratic move, and they make it difficult for the government to take back freedoms once they have been granted.

Typically, when an incentive program worked in one part of Hungary, RFE let the rest of the country — and all Eastern Europe — know about it, thus building up the pressures for economic reforms.

News makes up 10 minutes of every RFE hour on the air. And accuracy is what the station has to sell. Iron Curtain magazines have even needed their own Communist broadcasts for omitting news details that were then naturally provided by RFE.

But, at that time at least, 25 per cent of the programs was music, mostly popular. But the future of those Iron Curtain countries is in the hands of the youth, and it is at them RFE aims much of its effort. The young people seem to care not the least that the music usually happens to be in English.

Strangely enough, at that time the music was not the least that the music usually happens to be in English.

time RFE was getting plenty of mail from listeners from behind the Iron Curtain, most of it about the music. It is figured that about one of 10 such letters gets through to one of the many disguised mailing addresses RFE uses, but in 1965 they totalled 13,500 letters.

Time magazine in a recent story said RFE gets 78 per cent of all radio-listening Poles, 81 per cent of the Hungarians, 77 per cent of the Rumanians, 78 per cent of the Bulgarians, and 60 per cent of the Czechoslovaks.

Fulbright calls the stations "cold war relics." But Time suggests that, in the light of the stations' modern tactics, Fulbright's own criticism is a cold war relic. Either the Senator doesn't know what's going on in such broadcasting or he's fallen (hardly likely) for the Communist line that the people have the news.

If freedom of information is so important to us here in the free world (and this is what much of the headlines are about these days), how can we completely abandon the even greater information needs of those in Eastern Europe? In an era when the West has definitely given up any hope of military intervention, it is the one remaining thing we can do for them.

THE PLAIN DEALER  
CLEVELAND, OHIO  
D. 403,145 SUN. 533,828

APR 1 1972 *B. H. Miller*

## No U.S. Gag in World Debate

We see no justification for Sen. J. W. Fulbright's attacks upon the U.S. Information Agency and upon Radio Free Europe. These attacks sound like backwoods, bush-league thinking, though they come from the sophisticated chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Sen. Fulbright, D-Ark., accuses the USIA of trying "to stir up trouble" for the Soviet government by referring to its several ethnic groups — Ukrainians, Armenians, Russians.

No doubt it irritates the men in the Kremlin to have any encouragement, from the outside, of nationalities which are self-conscious culturally and in some cases yearning for separate or autonomous status. The example of Croatia in Yugoslavia

must worry Soviet leaders, lest it become a model copied within the Soviet realm.

But Fulbright's position calls for gagging or censoring fact and opinion on this subject. It would mean that the United States, if not the whole of the West, ought not to risk ruffling Moscow's feathers just now when negotiations are going on toward a possible detente.

Fulbright took the same line in trying to choke off Radio Free Europe. He called it an atavism, a relic of the Cold War.

But it is preposterous to think that the United States should gag itself, and not state its viewpoints while Moscow and its sister Communist capitals keep dinning their propaganda out incessantly.

East Germany, Poland, the tamed Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union pour out their picture of the West, their party line on detente, their standardized view of the world. It would be naive to think they would pull their punches at "U.S. imperialism" and its allies in return for a shutdown of U.S. information centers, or would cancel negotiations because the USIA said something Moscow did not agree with.

Meanwhile brave thinkers who believe in freedom, and speak out for it within repressive countries, need as evidence and encouragement all the news they can get from the West. Such news strengthens the West in its negotiations of a fairer kind of detente, or arms treaty or peace. That is why we see the Fulbright approach as weak and wrong-headed.



# NEWS

The new operation of the stations—as described in detail by the Library of Congress—is one likely to be critically examined by librarians concerned with both intellectual freedom and the role of libraries in the international scene.

## CONGRESS ENDS FUNDING OF FREEDOM RADIO STATIONS

### LC Evaluative Studies Had Supported the Outlets

Despite two Library of Congress studies recommending continued government financing, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have temporarily lost their government funding because of a dispute between the House and the Senate over two proposals which might have kept the stations alive for another year. The Central Intelligence Agency had secretly funded the outlets for 20 years, but that funding—about 36 million annually—came to an end after Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey disclosed the extent of the secret funding. Over the years, Radio Free Europe has received government grants of \$306,890,469, and Radio Liberty's grant support has totalled \$158,830,637. Congress had passed an appropriation bill providing funds to the two stations until June 30; however, this appropriation was contingent upon congressional approval of an authorization bill which has not yet been enacted. The two stations have said that they would have to cease operation within a month if congressional authorization was not forthcoming.

Prior to the congressional stalemate, Senator William Fulbright had asked the Library of Congress to conduct studies on the effectiveness of the two stations. Fulbright had hoped that the reports would support his contention that the stations should "take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold war relics." However, instead of urging that the stations be disbanded, both LC reports strongly supported the stations.

In his report on Radio Liberty, Dr. Joseph G. Whelan, a specialist in Soviet and East European affairs, contended that the station's basic policy has shifted from its early "liberation" approach to the "liberalization" of conditions within Soviet society. He commended the staff for their "professionalism" and he praised "the existence of an organizational spirit that seems to arise from a conviction of participating in creating positive change in the Soviet Union." The reality of Radio Liberty, said Whelan, conflicts with its popular cold war image. He maintained that the station "accepts all Soviet institutions, though not its ideology, and seeks to bring about peaceful democratic change from within."

Whelan warned that if the station were disbanded the Soviet people would lose "a free press for the inflow of information." He added if this were to occur the dissemination of "samizdat" or underground writings—most of which are made available to the Russian public via radio—would be sharply curtailed "with the consequences that this liberalizing movement will unquestionably receive a serious setback."

Similar praise for Radio Free Europe was expressed by James R. Price in his Library of Congress report.

The Nixon Administration supports direct congressional funding of the stations and has asked for a bill to set up a nonprofit organization independent of

the government to oversee their operation. The House bill is closely aligned with the Administration position: it would provide funds for two years and establish a two-year study group. The Senate bill, on the other hand, would finance the station through the Secretary of State for only one year. Senator Fulbright has opposed giving the stations "a new lease on life" and he was influential in getting the Senate to pass the measure. Fulbright has questioned the sincerity of the Administration's expressed desires to improve relations with communist countries in view of its efforts to keep "this old cold war program on the books."

Even if the House and Senate iron out their differences and draft an acceptable compromise measure, the future of the two stations looks bleak. Although spokesmen for the Administration have said that President Nixon was "personally" concerned over the plight of the stations, he has not spoken out strongly on the issue. Few senators have publicly voiced opinions in favor of the stations. With the change in political climate—from open hostility to negotiation—it has been difficult to generate enthusiasm for appropriations. The recent exposé on the secret CIA funding of the stations has made politicians shy away from the concepts as "liberation" and "liberaliza-

LIBRARY JOURNAL  
NEW YORK, N. Y.  
SEMI-MONTHLY 46,000

APR 1 1972

*B. J. Miller*

RAYNE, LA.  
ACADIAN TRIBUNE  
W. 4,720

MAR 30 1972

*By Heller*

## The Arkansas Statesman

U.S. Senator Fulbright, who has been a consistent obstructionist in his chamber, now is in the process of choking off the only voices of freedom available to communist-controlled peoples.

These voices are Radio Free Europe which broadcasts messages of freedom and truth to the communist dominated peoples of Eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty, which carries the same message to people in the Soviet Union.

"Now after 20 years of such indispensable service," reports Rep. Gene Snyder, "it appears that these two voices of liberty are going to have to shut down.

"But should these broadcasts cease, it will not be because Congress has decided they have become useless. On the contrary, both houses of Congress have already approved a continuation of the programs. Since the bill passed

by the House differed from that approved by the Senate, it was necessary to send the bills to a House Senate conference committee to reconcile the differences.

"It has been the opposition of three of the five senators in that conference, led by J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, that has led to the present stalemate.

"Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has refused to accept any compromise.

"So the legislation is stuck — and without congressional authorization and provision of necessary funds, these two programs can not be continued. . . .

"As Senator Fulbright and his allies have made clear, they view the expiration of the existing authority as an opportunity to kill these programs." —Kentucky Exclusive



SALISBURY, MD.  
ADVERTISER  
W. 3,785

MAR 30 1972

*By Miller*

## EDITORIALS

### Radio Free Europe

There are some people (including Senator J. W. Fulbright) who would like to see Radio Free Europe destroyed. The Senator's position is that the broadcasts are irritants to the developing entente between the United States and Russia.

Radio Free Europe and its sister Radio Liberty were founded during the freezing darkness of the cold war to give heat and light to the imprisoned people of East Europe.

With the years, the stringency of getting uncensored news has passed these countries by. Governmental controlled newspapers and broadcasting have taken a milder tone and the people, better fed and better clothed, are no longer as avidly hungry for personal liberty.

Yet there is something which Senator Fulbright does not take into consideration. The changes in the communist countries are partly due to the influence of Radio Free Europe, not only on the people themselves, but on the officials, who also listen in. If he would look at these voices from a businessman's point of view he would realize that advertising is an absolute necessity in the selling of a product. Ford and General Motors as competitors would find it hard going if they didn't continue to tell the people why they should buy their cars.

Hanging on a thin thread, these voices of free enterprise depend entirely on Federal appropriations. The Senate should do well to consider their value in the selling of freedom.

THE BOSTON HERALD

Traveler

D. 210,540 S. 260,961

MAR 29 1972

*Boheller*

## Reprieve for RFE and RL

Congress has given Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty another three months on the air, at least, providing emergency funds to continue beaming their broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain through June 30.

But Sen. J. William Fulbright, who has been trying his best to do what the Communists have failed to accomplish in more than two decades of trying—i.e., silence these two strong voices of truth and freedom—has vowed to continue his campaign to shut off funds for RFE and RL in the coming fiscal year.

Fulbright says the stations are rusty relics of the Cold War, and if they were really worthwhile the taxpayers shouldn't need to support them. The Arkansas Democrat has never been known as a foe of subsidies, and as one of our columnists recently remarked he has certainly never raised that particular point in reference to the funding of Fulbright Scholarships.

In any event, we hope that Congress has the good sense to override Sen. Fulbright's carping criticism, and provide the funds necessary to keep the two stations on the air indefinitely.

RICHMOND, KY.  
REGISTER  
D. 6,000

MAR 29 1972

*W. Fulbright*

### FULBRIGHT'S POWER

Senator William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, seeks to close Radio Liberty and Rado Free Europe by blocking action on long-term funding of these Munich-based stations.

Fulbright sees the stations, which beam messages to communist Europe, as relics of the cold war. Critics have in the past charged their broadcasts stir unfounded hopes among captive communist peoples, that they helped instigate the hopeless, post-war uprisings in East Germany, Poland and Hungary. The Russians have long viewed the stations as provocations.

Yet for many Europeans under communist domination the broadcasts of these stations are a valuable source of truthful news and in some cases the best source--although the Russians have in the past jammed their broadcasts with varying effectiveness.

If the policies and operations of the stations leave much to be desired, the remedy would be reshaping operations and policies to best serve the purpose of these outlets-- the truthful dissemination of news to communist Europe. Chairman Fulbright, who is entitled to his opinion, is in this instance seeking to shape foreign policy by forcing the closing of the stations--constitutionally the responsibility of the President; in this maneuver he is almost certainly acting contrary to the wishes of the majority of Americans.

Lubbock Avalanche Journal

LUBBOCK, TEXAS

D. 62,050 SUN. 73,263

MAR 27 1972

*B. K. Allen*

**REBUFF FOR FULBRIGHT**

**Funds For Freedom Radio Needed**

CONGRATULATIONS go to the U.S. Senate for its rebuff to Sen. J. William Fulbright in the matter of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and several fellow neo-isolationists and pacifists conducted a long and bitter campaign to deny funds for the two stations. Both operate in Munich. Radio Free Europe broadcasts in native languages to five Soviet bloc Eastern European nations. Radio Liberty beams information in 17 languages to the Soviet Union.

They have offered to these people their only chance to receive accurate information, or any information at all, about events of worldwide importance. Often, they provide the only source of news from within the countries themselves.

The only criticism of any importance advanced by Fulbright & Co. has been that the broadcasts are "Cold War relics," unsuitable in this "Era of Negotiation." However, they still are needed, for good reasons. One is that truthful news is desirable to counteract vicious propaganda still directed against the U.S. from behind the Iron Curtain.

Recently, for example, Moscow television aired a "documentary," titled "America-Autumn '71," designed to picture the U.S. in the worst possible light. It showed Klan meetings, Times Square prostitutes and American Nazis as "typical" of American life.

Accusations that the radios broadcast propaganda are phony. Both stations have earned virtually unanimous praise for broadcasting objective news and impartial analysis.

Most importantly of all, the broadcasts provide, at relatively modest cost, a service to people in the captive nations who yearn for knowledge. As Sen. Charles Percy says, "It is a sad fact that a man in Leningrad may not know of a major news event in Kiev or Prague or Paris or New York unless Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty informs him."

Fulbright tried to use his "power of arrogance" to silence them. It is true that Congress has appropriated funds only for the next three months. However, the Senate vote of 65 to 6 is a strong indication that more favorable action will be taken later in the year. It should be taken.

**TULSA WORLD**  
TULSA, OKLA.

D. 109,469 SUN. 176,258

MAR 26 1972

*B. H. Miller*

**Fulbright Defended**

I believe it was the March 4th edition of the Tulsa World, editorial page, that an article by Roscoe Drummond reported Senator Fulbright of Arkansas as recently putting forth an effort by him to kill all financial assistance for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

As you will discover, by the enclosed copies of a personal letter from Senator Fulbright and a report of the above mentioning, Fulbright claims he said no such thing. He also backs up his statement by offering documented evidence from the Library of Congress.

Senator Fulbright does favor discontinuation of both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. He bases his opposition on several points — most notably: 1. Our tax money "was being secretly used to support these radio services through the Central Intelligence Agency," not from "the dimes of school children and voluntary gifts from concerned citizens," as is the popular belief . . . not to forget mention as being advertised as such; 2. Fulbright brought out the realization that while \$36 million of our tax money was being secretly used for the Radios, Arkansas was able to receive only \$5 million

for much needed water and sewer systems. The \$36 million for both Radios, incidentally, is in addition to the \$41 million budget for Voice of America, the "sanctioned overseas broadcasting service of our government."

After studying the report, perhaps Senator Fulbright may really have something on his last point — "If the need for RFE and RL is as clear as administration officials claim, why isn't there some interest on the part of our NATO allies — who are much closer to the situation than we are? None of the European countries contributes to the cost of the Radios." Why support something that the people it is supposed to help have no interest in?

I hope, in all fairness, you might present my Senator's side of the story.

Siloam Springs, Ark. Gary D. Darling

ORLANDO, FLA.  
SENTINEL  
D. 113,000 S. 145,000

MAR 24 1972 *2/11*

# Russian's Clandestine Letter Begs For Radio Liberty To Continue

MOSCOW (Reuter) As Congress debated in Washington whether to continue funding two radio stations beamed at the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, voices were being raised here, too — for and against.

One was the voice of the Soviet government, whose daily newspaper Izvestia this week published the latest of its frequent attacks on Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, denouncing them as mainstays of "American anti-Communist propaganda."

BUT ANOTHER voice was that of a single listener to the Russian language broadcasts of Radio Liberty, whose appeal against proposals to close the stations has been circulating in typescript among a small number of Russians.

The official view here is close to that of Sen. J.

William Fulbright (D-Ark.) — that the stations are a cold war relic and that U. S. funds for them should be cut off if there is to be detente in Europe.

FOR LISTENERS like the author of the appeal, which usually reliable sources attributed to a Muscovite named Dzhermen Smirnovsky, nothing could be further from the truth.

"For Russia to lose Radio Liberty means to lose the little freedom left to us ... the freedom to get truthful information about our country ... if you want to fight against the cold war, Mr. Fulbright, you are welcome — fight. Together with Radio Liber-

ty, together with all our people," the letter declared.

MAR 23 1972

## Violent quarrel over situation

# Radio voice of 'freedom' faces shutdown

By NEAL ASCHERSON  
London Observer Service

LONDON — The violent quarrel over the future of Radio Free Europe, touched off by Senator William Fulbright's proposal that the United States should cut off its funds, has become a sort of bar-room brawl for intellectuals of the entire Western world.

Not in many years have so many prominent men called so many other prominent men "appeasement" or "soft on Communism" or "incurable Cold Warriors."

Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts to Eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty, which broadcasts in Russian and a multi-lingual side of other languages to the Soviet Union, were set up in 1950, in what was then the American - occupied zone of West Germany. They were financed, through various services, by the Central Intelligence Agency until last year, when the American Administration took on the burden of an estimated \$36 million a year. Their original purpose, strong support by many of the emigrants who were collected to staff the station, was to sub-

vert Communist regimes, but this approach was severely modified after 1956, when Radio Free Europe was charged, justifiably, with having encouraged the Hungarians to take up arms against the Russians.

### CAUTIOUS POLICY

Since then, the policy of both stations has been more cautious. In principle, they claim to provide Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union with objective world news and with news about events within the listeners' own countries which might not be available to them through the Party - controlled media.

Radio Free Europe's staff of 1,530 people, of whom 1,140 work in Munich, produces some 560 hours of programmes a week for Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania (Czechoslovakia receives some 20 hours a day, followed by Poland and Hungary which receive 19). There is also a research service, which issues extremely full and reasonably fair accounts of events within these countries, and their neighbours, and summaries of their Press: this service is also distributed

to journalists and academics in the West.

Those who are protesting against the close - down of the stations — which will happen in June if no further money is voted by the U.S. Senate—argue that the Cold War is still very much a reality and that the need to provide "objective" news for East Europeans is as strong as ever. The other side consider that the existence of the stations, bitterly resented by the Soviet and East European governments, is in contradiction to the whole spirit of détente in Europe and threatens to compromise not only Chancellor Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik but bilateral plans to improve Soviet - American relations, and in particular might affect President Nixon's visit to Moscow in May.

Travelling in Eastern Europe, one gets the impression that RFE's effectiveness varies considerably. Its main success is the Polish service, which is heard by a large proportion of the population and — privately — by many Party and Government leaders. Its intimacy with Polish life, and its cautious agreement with the regime on

what Polish patriotic interests and limitations are, have established a sort of symbiosis of a very unofficial kind with the Warsaw leadership, although it is hotly denounced on Polish radio and television.

The listener figures estimated by RFE itself, based on rather unreliable sampling, suggest that around half the population of Eastern Europe hear RFE at one time or another in a year. But listeners in countries other than Poland sometimes complain that programmes are produced by emigres of the older generation who are stiffly anti-Communist and who have lost touch with the realities of their own societies. This has been a complaint, for instance, in Czechoslovakia.

### WEST ROW

The row in the West has a certain unreality about it. The party most intimately involved — the West German Government — keep an embarrassed silence. There is no doubt that it is an obstacle to Brandt's Ostpolitik to have an American propaganda station of this kind lodged on West German territory, and many leading Social Democrats privately wish

that it would move out. Its presence during the Olympic Games in Munich this summer is already drawing protests from East European capitals. But the Brandt Government, with its tiny majority in the Bundestag, cannot afford to make any gesture which would be interpreted by right-wingers in the coalition as "trucking to Communist pressure."

The alternatives under discussion in Western newspapers — continuation in Munich or total shut - down — are in fact incomplete. There are several other possibilities. One would be to withdraw RFE and Radio Liberty from West Germany and base them where they really belong: in the United States. RFE is transmitted mostly on short-wave, but there is also a medium - wave transmitter which would not operate over such a distance. Conceivably, if the Senate changes its mind and decides that RFE must continue at full strength, medium-wave equipment could be mounted on a ship in international waters, or a satellite could relay the programmes in a sort of "informational bombardment."

The principle here would be the "nationalization" of the stations. Their vulnerability comes from their pseudo - international status. Most East European nations operate multi - language external broadcasting stations which are extremely critical and sometimes hostile about the

Internal affairs of Western nations, but these stations are official voices of the States which they stand. The decision about RFE's future should be an American decision, in way involving other Western countries, and, it is said, if is to continue it should do so an unmistakably American radio station based in the United States.

The other possibility, which should be confronted by the who deplore the threat to RFE and Radio Liberty in the present form, is that the external broadcasting of Western national stations should be stepped up as a substitute.

There is something disingenuous about lamenting the fate of RFE if the lament is prepared to argue that his country should provide external money to bring the East European services of the BBC, the French ORTF or the West German Deutsche Welle up to similar volume and programming. All three are reputed funds, although their reputations for detachment — especially that of the BBC external services — is usually higher than that of the American or American-financed stations.

It is a condition of European security today, whether Russians and Americans like it or not, that no Government may use either force or inflammatory propaganda to foment violent change of regime in another country. Within that limitation, there is no reason why the radio stations of countries with different social systems should not describe and criticize each other's society. There will always be protest some Governments have the nerve skins than others. But obvious targets like the "international" status of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty removed, this would become custom which both halves of Europe might eventually learn to live with.

## Cong. Ancher Nelsen Reports

# Foreign Aid Program Still in Trouble

The history of foreign aid has been stormy, and this year has proved no exception.

We didn't get around to clearing the \$2.9 billion foreign aid bill for the fiscal year that ends this June until this March. In other words, eight months of the fiscal year was already over before Congress completed action.

Obviously, as our colleague John Anderson of Illinois noted recently, "foreign assistance is still a weak bird with a broken wing flying against the wind in the middle of a storm."

Part of the reason the foreign aid program seems in constant trouble is that in the minds of many Americans, myself included, at least part of it has been spent wastefully or in ways that even seem to hurt our own national interest. Also, it represents a nagging drain on taxpayers when we have many urgent needs here at home.

Take just one example.

Many of us believe the United States contribution to the United Nations is far too big and should be reduced. Originally, the House did manage to cut back our contribution to the United Nations Development Fund by \$100 million. Unfortunately, however, a conference committee later restored \$86 million for this U.N. Fund, and that decision now stands. Such questionable items tend to

discourage support for any foreign aid at all.

THIS IS unfortunate because the foreign aid program is directly related to our own national security and to the securing of world peace. For example, the measure recently passed contains economic and military assistance to permit the President's Vietnamization program to continue so that we can get our remaining troops home from Southeast Asia. This aid is vital to ending American involvement in this tragic war.

The aid bill also contains needed help for Israel and other allies that we have

encouraged to stand on their own feet. And it makes possible the continuation of efforts like the Peace Corps, which surely has been one of our more successful overseas programs.

I might add that the Peace Corps budget was regrettably cut back by Congress this year well below what the Nixon Administration had requested. The reduction was thought to threaten a curtailment in operations in some underdeveloped countries badly in need of American technical know-how. We understand now, however, that a compromise has now been worked out that will restore some of the cutback and ease the Corps' financial headaches.

THE LATEST foreign policy furor involves the future of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. As you may recall, Radio Free Europe has been broadcasting to Eastern Europe ever since 1950 and Radio Liberty started reaching millions of listeners in the Soviet Union a year later. They have proved enormously successful in enabling uncensored news and views from throughout the world to penetrate behind the Iron Curtain in the native languages of the people who so eagerly listen to them.

Criticism developed because these operations were mainly financed covertly by the CIA. So Congress agreed to fund them openly. Both House and Senate have voted to continue these operations, a decision I support. But, in spite of this clear expression of Congressional will, both radio operations may well be ended on the 1st of March because just three senators, led by Senator

Fulbright or Arkansas, appear determined to kill them.

They argue the broadcasts are relics of the old Cold War days and only irritate the Communist leadership, so they are refusing to cooperate in working out final details of a bill in a conference committee.

In my own view, killing

these programs means victory for the Soviet bloc hard-liners who hate the radios as allies of liberal and progressive elements. It will be tragic if the misguided senators frustrate the majority will in Congress and accomplish for the communist leadership that total news suppression they were never able to accomplish for themselves.

CHASKA, MINN.  
SUN  
W. CIRC.N. AVAIL.

MAR 23 1972 *By Heller*



CANBY, ORE

HERALD  
W. 2,893

MAR 23 1972

*By Walter*

## According To Tom

by Tom W. Gerber

### Over-Kill in Triplicate

Most Americans have heard about the Voice of America, the world-wide radio arm of the U.S. Information Service, which broadcasts news from 108 stations in 35 languages to people in every part of the world who are equipped to pick it up. It is a complex electronic set-up which operates on a 1971-72 budget of \$41,000,000.

Not so well known is the fact that the U.S. government for quite a few years has been operating two other multi-language radio networks, aimed at specific countries, and designed to give the American viewpoint on news events.

Radio Free Europe is one of these which was well-publicized about two decades ago when the late Drew Pearson, columnist, called for public contributions to support the enterprise, and, perhaps, to create a yearning for "the American way of life" specifically in the five border countries of Europe: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Hungary. Possibly Radio Free Europe helped fire up the Hungarian rebellion of 1956, but the U.S. was unable to do much about it, and Soviet tanks suppressed the uprising quite bloodily.

The other U.S. network is Radio Liberty, which is aimed directly at the people of Soviet Russia, and which broadcasts in 17 different languages or dialects.

Since it started, Radio Free Europe has cost American taxpayers \$306,890,469 and Radio Liberty, a more recent enterprise, has cost \$158,830,637. Their expenses for many years have been covered in the blanket budget of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) which doesn't have to account to Congress for expenditures.

Times have changed over the years. Points of view are changing all over the world. Propaganda, if that is what the last-named agencies have been dishing out, loses its effectiveness. The U.S.S.R., we have heard, no longer "jams" the RFE and RL networks electronically. Yet they continue to operate expensively.

Now Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty no longer are under the wing of CIA and Senator James W. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations committee, proposes to cut off their appropriations after June 30, 1972. It would seem to this old codger, a bit of a veteran in the communications business, that the useful duties of the latter two agencies could be taken over by Voice of America. Or, we might Abolish all three. Interchange of news reports, I understand, has been re-established between the Tass Agency in Soviet Russia and the Associated Press and United Press in the United States.

If Propaganda is the objective of the U.S.-operated networks it is high time we abolished them. It isn't effective any more. It's a terrific waste of money and brains. But President Nixon has asked Congress to appropriate money for RFE and RL.

The Soviet Union has no free press anyway, and we are merely wasting time and money trying to force our point of view on the people of their countries. It is doubtful if our broadcasts have any significant body of listeners in real communist countries. They would be risking their necks if they were caught tuned to our hoop-la, and the truth, if important enough, will get through to them sooner or later. When they find out that their own country has been lying to them, or keeping secret from them important events they should know about, they may change their minds about their own brand of government.

I understand that Pravda, Russia's principal newspaper, printed only two brief sentences about President Nixon's trip to Peking, then later printed editorial comment tending to belittle the trip.

But Mr. Nixon wasn't expecting to win many votes in Moscow, and probably not in Peking, either. Certainly he will not get many in Taiwan, but somebody in the Aleutian Islands might

WASHINGTON, D.C.  
JEWISH WEEK AND  
AMERICAN EXAMINER  
MARYLAND VIRGINIA AND D.C.  
EDITION  
W. 24, 783  
MAR 23 1972 *By Heller*

71

## Immigrants plead for Radio Liberty

TEL AVIV -- A delegation of ten Jewish immigrants who arrived from the Soviet Union during the past year met with United States Ambassador Walworth Barbour at the US Embassy here and asked him to convey to the US Senate their support of Radio Liberty. Radio Liberty is one of two private American broadcast services which beams short wave programs behind the iron curtain and which are threatened with closure by the withdrawal of government support.

Avraham Shifrim, who headed the delegation, told Ambassador Barbour that Radio Liberty which broadcasts exclusively to the Soviet Union "brings a breath of freedom into our lives." The other threatened service is Radio Free Europe which broadcasts to East European Communist bloc countries. The interview with Ambassador Barbour was conducted in Russian with embassy first secretary Walter Smith serving as interpreter. Smith previously served in the US Embassy in Moscow.

RICHMOND, IND.  
PALLADIUM ITEM AND  
SUN TELEGRAM  
D. 30,000 SUN. 31,000

MAR 23 1972 *B.H.*

## These Broadcasts Needed

For almost 20 years Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) have broadcast unmanaged news of the world to countries behind the Iron Curtain. Radio Free Europe broadcasts to five East European nations in native languages and Radio Liberty broadcasts to Russia in 17 Soviet languages.

The operating budget for both broadcasting stations is \$36 million and is used to maintain transmitters on Taiwan, in West Germany and Spain and pays a staff of employees which includes 250 Soviet defectors.

The effects of these broadcasts have been almost unanimously approved and endorsed. But despite this fact RFE and RL will cease operations within the next few months due largely to the myopic tactics of one misguided American: Sen. J. William Fulbright.

Fulbright has called the radio stations "cold war relics" and continues to maintain that they endanger American relations with Communist countries. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he has singlehandedly blocked legislation which would allow appropriations to continue beyond June 30.

Fulbright's intransigence indicates that once his mind is made up he has a fear of being confused with the facts — a malady which he has suffered from, most painfully, for a number of years.

It was Fulbright, for example, who asked for a special Library of Congress study to evaluate RFE and RL.

When the study was completed Fulbright refused to release the findings. Only recently after intense pressure from all areas of the political spectrum did he agree to release the study.

To Fulbright's everlasting embarrassment the results of the study concluded that RFE and RL were very good indeed and worth continuing.

But all this made no difference to Fulbright. He still refuses to allow extended funding for the stations.

Evidently there is nothing wrong with RFE or RL except Fulbright's fear of the free flow of ideas between nations. Perhaps when the stations fall silent he will be capable of realizing precisely what his fear has done.

HEMET, CALIF.  
NEWS  
DAILY 6,500

MAR 23 1972

*E. H. Miller*

## EDITORIALS

### Senator Fulbright's Cold War Relics

Another three months of life is the prognosis for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The former broadcasts in native languages to five eastern European nations. The latter broadcasts to Russia in seventeen Soviet languages. The broadcasts are scheduled to die not because of their own weakness, but because of the political malaise of Senator William J. Fulbright. He believes the stations are relics of the cold war which should be discarded because tensions have eased.

Until last year, there had been governmental pretense that the stations were financed by private subscription, while in fact they were supported by the Central Intelligence Agency. Just why that deception was considered necessary remains a mystery. There has never been an accompanying pretense that the CIA withheld from other anti-Communist operations.

Despite that recognition of the CIA's role, there is no evidence that the agency ever interfered with program content, nor has there been any charge that the stations indulged in propaganda for propaganda's sake. Former Polish Ambassador John Gronouski praised the accuracy and detail of Radio Free

Europe's coverage of the 1968 Polish uprisings which were ignored by the Polish press. Both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were factual in their coverage of events such as the ouster of Khrushchev, the Cuban missile crisis, and President Nixon's visit to China.

To end the CIA tieup, President Nixon has proposed that the stations be financed by Congressional appropriations and run by an eleven member non-profit corporation independent of government control. Although both House and Senate have passed differing authorization bills, Senator Fulbright has defeated any attempt to resolve the differences by conference.

He maintains that the stations are no longer justified because tensions have eased between the United States and its ideological antagonists. There is reason to suspect, however, that at least part of that change may be a result of the work of the stations. They have made possible a flow of ideas to peoples across borders that are closed to other means of communication. There is merit to the theory that even a dictatorial government must respond in some degree to what its people know.

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.  
NEWS-PRESS  
D. 38,000

EVENING

MAR 23 1972 *B. Fuller*

## East Bloc Depends on News Flow

The future of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, which beam news to the Soviet Union and East bloc nations, is threatened by a congressional cutoff of funds.

Sen. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, considers them "relics of the Cold War" and proposes their shutdown. He is blocking further financing beyond June 30 if Congress does not override his wishes.

According to major newspapers in West Europe and Great Britain, however, the stations are very much more than the "relics" the senator deplors and constitute channels of vital public information to Soviet bloc peoples. Bulgarians, Romanians, Poles, Hungarians and Soviet citizens have come to trust the broadcasts to deepen their understanding of world and home events.

Granted, the stations until recently were financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, a point that Sen. Fulbright is emphasizing. But they have evolved, according to Western an-

alysts and virtually every West European newspaper, into lifelines of objective reporting on political, economic and cultural happenings of vital importance to peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

A noted Soviet refugee author, for example, says the closing down of these stations would fulfill the most ardent wishes of the Russian intelligence network. The broadcasts, he says, are depended upon for truthful reporting that "give hope" to the people.

The Guardian in England editorialized recently that to silence the stations "would confirm and condone the suppression of free speech in Russia and the rest of the Soviet bloc. No wonder the Soviet leaders are using such diplomatic levers as they have at hand to bring this about..."

Congress, we believe, should continue its contributions to these stations, pending a program of joint support with other West European countries.

BROADCASTING  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
W. 28,000

MAR 20 1972

*File*

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## *Editorials*

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### One-man rule?

For the past several weeks we have reported the sad state of affairs surrounding continued underwriting of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the U.S.-operated radio-broadcast services programming into the Eastern European nations under Soviet domination and to the USSR itself.

Now a temporary accommodation has been reached to continue these vital services for three months. Senator James W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), who wields enormous power as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has stubbornly argued that these medium and shortwave broadcasts are "relics" of the cold war. We disagree.

To discontinue these stations would silence truthful and

respected voices that are now penetrating the Iron Curtain with authentic news of the outside world. They monitor the Communist news media to counter the anti-American propaganda, and do this in the native languages of the five Eastern European satellite nations, reaching 31 million—more than half of their population over 14—regularly. Radio Liberty's native-tongue transmissions into the Soviet Union likewise have been a thorn in the Soviet's side.

President Nixon, backed by a solid House majority and a seeming majority of the Senate, wanted financing through June 30, 1973. The compromise forced by Senator Fulbright leaves just one ray of hope—agreement to consider a bill that would provide funds for the fiscal year beginning July 1. The administration bill carried an appropriation of about \$35 million for the two services, as a direct fund supplanting money heretofore provided secretly through the Central Intelligence Agency and some public contributions.

If Chairman Fulbright persists in his stand in defiance of overwhelming congressional and administration views, it is bound to stir more opposition to an archaic system that invests autocratic power in committee chairmen who achieve exalted status through seniority alone.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.  
JOURNAL  
D. 78,000

MAR 15 1972 *B. Miller*

## Windows in the Wall

**R**ADIO Free Europe and Radio Liberty have fallen out of favor in recent months, and by June 30 Congress must decide once and for all whether it will go on supporting these "cold war relics" or abandon millions of people in East Europe and the Soviet Union to a steady, unvaried diet of state-approved radio fare.

Relations between the U.S. and the Soviet bloc have certainly improved since the period at the end of World War II when the stations were established. The broadcasts are a continuing source of irritation to the Russians and could conceivably be an embarrassment to President Nixon when he visits Moscow.

Moreover, the stations have been damaged by the discovery that they are supported mostly by Central Intelligence Agency money rather than by voluntary contributions, as we have been led to believe for so long. This association is a sour note in the minds of some people at home and tends to make more credible the long-standing Soviet charges that the broadcasts are used to foment insurrection in the satellite nations.

But even as old tensions relax between the governments of the West and the Soviet bloc, an estimated 30

million people behind the Iron Curtain continue to rely on these stations as their sole source of uncensored news and entertainment. The citizens of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria are still kept largely in the dark by the Soviet masters of their regimes, and the very fact that massive efforts are constantly made to jam the broadcasts (with little apparent success) is proof that they are still important and necessary.

This nation is long on talk of "commitments" to other peoples; such a commitment is at stake here. Until news and information are permitted to flow freely within the satellite nations, we should continue to supply them from outside.

If the government is going to support these stations, it should do so openly, through existing channels of cultural and information exchange. The connections to the CIA should be severed. Current legislation to cut them should be considered seriously by the Congress.

Most important, we must first resolve not to wall up these cracks in the Iron Curtain, but to keep open these tiny windows at which 30 million people gather, to listen for the truth.

14 APR 1972

*Marquis Childs*

## Broadcasting And Westpolitik

ONE OF THOSE bones of contention calculated to create the utmost ill will is before the Congress with the path to final decision sown with booby traps. The question is whether Radio Free Europe is a vestige of the Cold War that should be closed out in light of the new Nixon approach to the Soviet Union or whether it is an invaluable window to the West for the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe fed solely on government propaganda.

It is an issue freighted with all the fears and suspicions of the past; the tragedy of refugees who have seen their homelands turned into prisons by Communist walls. Passionate partisans of RFE scoff at economizing by cutting off the \$38 million for the operation. Their villain is J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who supported a bill providing funds for RFE only until the June 30 end of the fiscal year. After that date its future is uncertain, unless the administration acts quickly to push a new status for a further appropriation.

Fulbright points out that the cutoff date was initiated by Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey, a Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee. While Case is not enthusiastic about RFE, he would not oppose continuing it if some new framework could be established.

Here, in my opinion, is an example of the cost of failing to grapple with a long-outmoded condition and simply letting drift take over. The Central Intelligence Agency provided the money for RFE for many years in a semi-secret fashion. A facade that public contributions supported both RFE and Radio Liberty was just that. The money came from the CIA.

THE TIME had long passed for the CIA to be in the business of operating a semi-clandestine propaganda station based in Munich. With the facts about the CIA's involvement revealed, the moment was at hand to face up and ask Congress for a direct appropriation.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee initiated a bill, later passed by the House, setting up a semi-governmental corporation to operate the two stations for a trial period of two years. That proposal died in conference when the conferees accepted the Case compromise for a June 30 cutoff.

What is the value of the broadcasts that RFE beams to the Soviet Union and the satellite states? Here intangibles galore enter in. The passionate partisans insist that the broadcasts keep alive the hope of dissent. The legislative reference branch of the Congress made a favorable report which Senator Fulbright put into the Congressional Record.

But doubters believe the broadcasts are an irritant that stiffens the resistance of Communist governments to any dissent and makes the lives of the dissenters even harsher than they would otherwise be. When Secretary of State William P. Rogers was before the committee, Fulbright repeatedly sought to draw him out on whether RFE and Radio Liberty were an impediment to any understanding with the Soviet Union. Rogers cited the series of agreements currently in the works, including the two-year cultural agreement just signed.

THE CIA stopped funding the stations July 1, 1971, and the order from the top was to have no further connection with their operation. The CIA had done a study at the request of the Office of Management and Budget in the White House dealing

solely with the cost of liquidating the operation. This would be considerable, since RFE has 2,600 employees, the majority refugees and many advanced in years.

Why shouldn't Germany share a part of the cost of the stations that broadcast from German soil? Or NATO?

There is a compromise which might assuage the partisan passions. That is for Congress to vote funds for an additional six months of operation beyond June 30. During that time a high-level panel to be named by the White House, perhaps jointly with Congress, would evaluate the broadcasts. Hopefully, the panel's report would take the whole matter out of the shot and shell of politics.

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## The Herschensohn Flap

Bruce Herschensohn, the USIA official who resigned Monday, probably was wrong to describe some of Senator Fulbright's views as "very simplistic, very naive and stupid," particularly when Fulbright's Senate Foreign Relations Committee was about to consider the information agency's \$200 million authorization request for fiscal 1973. Mischievous and wrong the senator frequently is; but naive and stupid, seldom.

The flap, of course, came in connection with the showing by Senator Buckley on 12 New York television stations of a USIA film on Czechoslovakia, which ends with Russian tanks rolling into that unfortunate country in 1968. The film has won several awards and has been well-received by audiences abroad.

There is, however, an implied ban in the enabling act establishing USIA in 1948 against the dissemination of the agency's material in this country. There is a certain logic in that, the logic being that such films are propaganda and should not be used to influence the thinking of the people who have paid for their production.

At least two exceptions have been made, the most recent of which was the 1965 release, specifically authorized (over Republican objections) by act of Congress, of the film "John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," an uncritical analysis of the late President's brief administration. The proceeds went to the Kennedy Center.

Acting Attorney General Kleindienst's ruling that Buckley could use the Czech film because USIA material is

open to congressmen "for examination" was, to say the least, somewhat strained, if only because the New York senator clearly is a political figure and was using the film for a political purpose.

The fact remains, however, that there should be some mechanism short of a specific act of Congress to make it possible for USIA films of merit to be seen by domestic audiences. The Czech movie apparently was such a film and had its showing not been related to a specific political figure there seems no reason why it should not have been shown. Clearly, there would be few such worthy exceptions to the rule and a bipartisan review board could be set up to identify them and make recommendations.

As a result of this little imbroglio, USIA has lost a talented albeit conservative executive, Herschensohn has lost a \$36,000-a-year job, Fulbright has lost his never very frigid cool (he threatens to attach an absolute ban on such showings to USIA's authorization) and the information agency may lose the money needed to fund two worthwhile institutions already under fire from Fulbright, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe.

In our view, which we hope is neither simplistic, naive nor stupid, this was a hassle nobody needed. Steps should be taken to clarify the issue and to make it possible, from time to time, for the American people to see USIA films of merit under conditions which would not provide partisan advantage to any political party or personality.

April 10, 1972

IMPACT OF RADIO LIBERTY ON  
RUSSIAN SOCIETY

Mr. McGEE, Mr. President, the Washington Post of Sunday, April 9, 1972, contains an interesting analysis of Radio Liberty and its impact on Russian society. The article was written by Susan Jacoby, a former reporter for the Post, who returned to this country in 1971 after a 2-year stay in the Soviet Union.

The important aspect of the column is that the author is presenting a perspective of Radio Liberty based upon her personal experiences in Russia and the value the broadcasts of this station have for the people of that country.

I believe it worthwhile to read this excellent presentation of Radio Liberty because it comes from an individual who was in a position to rationally and realistically analyze the impact of the station on Soviet society—a person whose observations are not tied to personal prejudices.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 9, 1972]

## RADIO LIBERTY AND THE RUSSIANS

(By Susan Jacoby)

On a snowy day during the winter of 1971, an unidentified young man from a small village arrived at the Moscow apartment of Andrei Amalrik, author of "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?" and "Involuntary Journey to Siberia." The young man had heard on the radio that Amalrik had been sentenced to three years in a labor camp, and he wanted to do something to help.

Because Amalrik wanted comments from readers, his home address had been broadcast several months earlier when his books were read over Radio Liberty. The young man knocked on the door and presented a sticky honeycomb to Amalrik's wife, Gysel. He told her she must take it to her husband in camp, since honey would help a prisoner keep up his strength. Then he disappeared, leaving no name or address.

The young stranger is one of the many Russians who listen to Radio Liberty. (It is impossible to determine how many listen, although millions of short-wave sets can receive the broadcasts despite intensive jamming.) What these Russians hear and how they react are questions that Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) has never answered in his fight to close down both Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe as "Cold War relics." Nor have supporters of the two stations shown much awareness of what the broadcasts really mean to people in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Radio Liberty means different things to different Russian listeners, depending on their interests and political orientation. Alexandra I. Solzhenitsyn, Russia's greatest living writer, said recently, "If we ever hear anything about events in this country, it's through them." Solzhenitsyn, who made the statement in an interview with Moscow Correspondents of The Washington Post and The New York Times, had just heard a Radio Liberty report of an attack on him by Yaroslav V. Smelyakov, an official of the writers union which expelled the Nobel Prize-winning novelist in 1969.

The Smelyakov letter was an indirect official response to a sad and stinging lament Solzhenitsyn had written in memory of his friend and former editor, Alexander Tvardovsky. It was published in the West and broadcast back to the Soviet Union by Radio Liberty. The exchange, a minor literary quar-

rel from the vantage point of an American audience, is highly significant to Russians who care about literature—and most of the people who listen to foreign radio stations care a great deal. Smelyakov implied that Solzhenitsyn, as a writer proscribed by the authorities, had no right to eulogize Tvardovsky, who received many official honors during his lifetime. The attack neglected to mention that Tvardovsky was forced out of his job as editor of the magazine Novy Mir primarily because he championed Solzhenitsyn so steadfastly.

## LETTER FROM A LISTENER

To many Soviet listeners, Radio Liberty is simply a source of outside information with which they may or may not agree. One man wrote Radio Liberty a letter vigorously disputing the station's assertions that collective farm workers have a low standard of living in the Soviet Union.

"My brother works on a *kolkhoz* as a machine operator," explained the letter, which was addressed in a chatty tone to a female broadcaster. "He receives 120 rubles, his wife 80 rubles and his mother a pension of 30 rubles. He personally owns a large garden, two cows, two piglets, some birds, chickens, ducks, geese and 15 bee-hives." (One ruble equals approximately \$1.11 at the official exchange rate.)

While Radio Liberty seldom receives letters praising Soviet life, its audience does not consist entirely of people who are deeply dissatisfied with their country. A professor of French literature at a Moscow university once told me, "I don't always agree with these broadcasts, but I do believe it's important to hear other views of the world and of life. I think it is sad that we don't have these different views in our own newspapers, because I believe this kind of discussion would strengthen rather than hurt our society."

Radio Liberty attempts to provide a wide variety of news about the Soviet Union and the outside world that is not available in the Soviet press. However, broadcasts of clandestinely published *Samizdat* literature anger the authorities more than news broadcasts. Lengthy novels are read in half-hour installments over a period of several weeks. The radio thus enables a widespread audience to hear literary works it cannot read because of Soviet censorship.

All of the best Russian novels and non-fiction works of the 1960s have been read or discussed extensively on Radio Liberty. They include all of the Solzhenitsyn novels banned by Soviet authorities since 1964: "Cancer Ward," "The First Circle" and "August 1914." Other major works read over the air have included Nadezhda Mandelstam's "Hope Against Hope," which describes her life with the poet Osip Mandelstam until his death in a prison camp in 1938; Vasily Grossman's "Forever Flowing," which deals with the feelings of a camp supervisor who returns to the outside world; both Amalrik books, and the uncensored version of Anatoly Kuznetsov's "Babi Yar."

"Babi Yar" was originally published by the Soviets in censored form in 1966. The uncensored version became available only after Kuznetsov defected in London in 1969. Russians who listened to the broadcasts of "Babi Yar" say they were particularly dramatic because the originally published portions were read in a flat announcer's voice and the parts cut by the censor were read by Kuznetsov himself. The censored paragraphs, which make up at least a third of the present book, dealt with subjects ranging from Ukrainian collaboration with Nazi occupiers during World War II to continuing anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

## ARGUMENTS WITH THE PRESS

Radio Liberty also broadcasts many *Samizdat* works by Ukrainian writers in the Ukrainian language. They are not as well known in the West as Russian *Samizdat* writers but

are even more important to the 49 million Ukrainians who make up the second largest ethnic group (after Russians) in the Soviet Union.

The station broadcasts 24 hours a day in Russian and intermittently in 18 other languages spoken by different nationality groups within the Soviet Union. Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania. Radio Liberty now has a yearly budget of \$12 million and 920 employees; Radio Free Europe has a \$21 million budget and approximately 1,600 employees.

Radio Free Europe is better known in the United States than Radio Liberty because it still commands political loyalty and some financial support from Americans of East European ethnic origins. The two stations have completely separate business and editorial operations, though their funding is a single issue in Congress. Differences between their programming are substantial, and they reflect different political conditions in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Radio Free Europe tends to engage in running arguments with the official press in countries like Hungary and Poland, and the official newspapers often answer the broadcasts. Such dialogue is possible because the press in Eastern Europe is censored with a much lighter hand than the Soviet press. Russian newspapers and radio stations sometimes attack Radio Liberty, but they do not mention specific broadcasts. Any discussion of specifics would help spread news the Soviets want to keep quiet.

Radio Liberty devotes about a third of its coverage to international affairs and two-thirds to Soviet domestic issues. There is some overlap in international coverage, since the station often broadcasts Western wire service accounts or its own analyses of events that have been reported by official Soviet papers or the news agency Tass.

## A DAY IN MARCH

On March 1, an ordinary news day, both Radio Liberty and Pravda covered the arrival of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Moscow to seek aid for the new state of Bangladesh. Another event reported by both sources was the killing of two Ulster defense regiment soldiers in Belfast. Radio Liberty generally devotes only brief commentary to news stories that are non-controversial enough in the Soviet Union to be reported in straightforward fashion by the official press.

On the same day, Pravda ran a Tass story from Washington reporting President Nixon's return from Peking; it was based mainly on American press commentaries. Radio Liberty aired a nine-minute world press review of the Nixon trip, giving more prominence to Western European press reactions. Another world press roundup dealt with new developments in the Middle East: Radio Liberty generally attempts to offset the Soviet position that Israel is the only aggressor.

News items reported by Radio Liberty that were not covered in the March 1 Pravda included:

Announcement of new exchange of scientist-lecturers between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Reaction by black Rhodesians to the proposed agreement between Great Britain and Rhodesia.

Introduction of food rationing in Chile.

Authorization of Soviet border guards to detain people in border regions for up to 10 days without giving official cause. The move was seen as an effort to stop border traffic in Soviet Central Asia, where the frontier is less closely guarded than the Soviet Union's western borders.

The showing of a Romanian film in Bucharest about life during the Stalin era.

A scheduled meeting between British Prime Minister Edward Heath and French President Georges Pompidou.

9 APR 1972  
STATINTL

# Radio Liberty

## and

# The Russians

By Susan Jacoby

The writer, a former reporter for *The Washington Post*, returned in 1971 from a two-year stay in the Soviet Union. She is also the author of the forthcoming book, *"Moscow Conversations: Friendship and Fear."*

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# Inside Washington

## Why Radio Free Europe Must Not Be Silenced

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the two American stations which broadcast uncensored news and views to more than 350 million people behind the Iron Curtain, are in danger of drowning beneath a new wave of unilateral concessions to the Soviet Union.

Last week's 65-10-6 Senate vote providing funds for the stations through June 30 was only temporary relief. Whether they will obtain enough funds to operate much beyond this date is still problematical.

The threat to the existence of RFE and RL—looked to by people under Communist rule as their only "free press"—emanates from three sources:

- Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), the powerful chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who has relentlessly campaigned to close the stations down because he believes they block better relations with Moscow.

- President Richard M. Nixon, who had been standing firmly for the stations, but now appears to be wavering as his journey to Moscow draws nearer and his desire for accommodation with the Russians grows more intense.

- West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, who is anxious lest the forthright broadcasts of the Munich-based stations offend the Kremlin to the point where his own drive for détente with the Soviets will be detoured.

Aware of President Nixon's capacity for surprise moves (and concessions), proponents of the two stations will not breathe easily until all the results from the Nixon Moscow mission are in.

However, far more worrisome to them is Willy Brandt, whose government holds license renewal power over the stations, which must apply for new licenses in April. Already in a somewhat euphoric state over his *Ostpolitik*, Brandt is under tremendous pressure both from the East European and Russian Communist leaders and from the far-left wing of his own Social Democratic party to refuse new licenses.

In a recent development, eight far-left Social Democrat parliamentary deputies sent a telegram to President Nixon, calling RFE and RL "a stumbling block" and urging that they be closed down. Brandt's chief spokesman, Conrad Ahlers, followed the telegram by noting in a low-key way that his government recognizes the stations' "significance" but would not want them to obstruct any moves to the East.

This has caused an uproar throughout West Germany, where the public is growing increasingly uneasy over Brandt's wooing of the Kremlin. "The readiness of some Social Democrats to demonstrate Bonn's good will to the Soviet Union and the East European regimes obviously knows no limits," remarked the conservative Munich daily, *Muenchner Merkur*, calling moves against the radio stations "a characterless, pitiful policy of favoritism toward the Kremlin."

But the potential inclination of the President and the wavering of the present Bonn government only serve to reinforce the most formidable opposition to the stations: Sen. Fulbright.

He has been battling the stations ever since the 1970 revelation that they were funded mainly by the CIA (hardly a startling revelation to those who had long seen the radios as unique instruments of American policy whose combined budget of \$36 million a year had not come from just public contributions).

Rebutting Fulbright, journalists, scholars and diplomats loudly hailed the stations for their objective reporting, informed commentary, independence and candor. The stations were further praised for helping preserve the cultural heritage of peoples behind the Iron Curtain, who have endured a pronounced and vigorous "Russification" over the years.

More importantly, RFE and RL have provided the best insurance that the common man in the Communist domain does *not* look upon the West as a gang of capitalist Neanderthals bent only upon clubbing him to death. That, in the long run, is the only real assurance of possible détente.

However, none of this has deterred Fulbright from his well-publicized death wish for two institutions he calls "relics of the Cold War." During the past year he tried to financially strangle the radio stations by delaying even non-CIA funding. Then he made a clumsy attempt to withhold from his colleagues highly laudatory Library of Congress studies of the two stations, an exercise in petulance that earned him a sound thumping from the Washington press corps.

Fulbright's efforts to torpedo the stations reached its most ludicrous stage when he convened Foreign Relations Committee hearings on the matter. So absolute was the concert of expert opinion for the stations that the Arkansas senator could find no witnesses of any stature against them.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100070001-5

He summoned an unknown but self-proclaimed "student and practitioner of international broadcasting" from Fresno, Calif., to criticize the stations but this testimony was greeted with bemused indifference. Always demanding full disclosures and unshrouded facts from those who appear before him, Fulbright elicited a wave of snorts and guffaws with his next effort at testimony:

To counter the persuasive pro-RFE-RL testimony of men like Yale political scientist Frederick C. Barghoorn and MIT political scientist William E. Griffith, the senator later produced a letter on the Senate floor which he said was written to him from a retired lower-echelon State Department officer who, he claimed, could not be identified.

"It seems clear to me where there is no RFE or Radio Liberty now in existence," wrote Fulbright's mystery supporter, "that nobody would suggest that this would be the time to establish such a station."

Upon finishing reading this letter, Fulbright intoned gravely, "This is a very perceptive observation."

The senator, however, had not commented on what seemed the infinitely more perceptive observation of another retired State Department officer who *did* choose to be identified. Foy D. Kohler, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, wrote Fulbright:

"I strongly support Western radio broadcasts into the Soviet bloc, and consider the services of RL and RFE to be especially important. . . . I also believe that continuation of these two broadcasting services is fully compatible with the long-range stability of our relations with that area. . . ."

The penultimate result of all Fulbright's maneuvering was the recent vote on a compromise measure to keep the radio stations going. Although many saw the 65-to-6 vote as a victory for the stations, it merely set the stage for the real battle later this spring when Congress must decide on a permanent method of funding.

Fulbright would like to see the stations dead. Most proponents would like to have RFE and RL operate out of an autonomous government-funded foundation, similar to the one under which the British Broadcasting Corp. operates.

Those who stood with Fulbright in the recent vote constitute a predictable handful of senators whose sanguinity regarding Moscow seems to lead them into, as the British newsweekly *The Economist* puts it, "doing the Communist governments' work for them." Voting with Fulbright were: Allen J. Ellender (D-La.), Harold E. Hughes (D-Iowa), Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), William Proxmire (D-Wis.) and Stuart Symington (D-Mo.).

"The stand of Fulbright and his little band has of course not been lost on Moscow. *Pravda* and Radio Moscow are duly commending him," says *The Economist*. The Eastern European correspondents of several European news agencies have also been out to Communist bloc embassies in Wash-

ington to provide the senator with any and every bit of information helpful to him in his fight against "the capitalist pirates of the airwaves."

The citizens of Eastern Europe take a different and somewhat dimmer view of the affair, having heard of Fulbright's opposition over RFE and RL (which have given the senator's side equal time). He is now referred to behind the Iron Curtain as the "Arkansas Fellow-Traveler," or "Fulbrightov," or "Senator Fulbrightovich."

And in a withering telegram from London, Oleg Lenchevsky, a Soviet scientist and party member who defected in 1962, suggests a "cure" for Fulbright and his followers:

"[Let] them live in the very midst of my hapless fellow countrymen totally deprived of any sort of truthful information, vegetating on a rickety diet of chronic lies from Radio Moscow and *Pravda*."

Heinz Barth, Washington correspondent for Hamburg's influential daily, *Die Welt*, observed dryly in an article widely quoted in Europe: "If thankfulness were a characteristic of the Soviets, they would put up a statue to the senator in Red Square."

Moscow's delight with any progress Fulbright makes is indicative of the effectiveness of the stations. The Soviet youth newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* noted ruefully last year that Soviet propagandists "should draw serious lessons from the work" of RL.

Because their large audience (estimates range from 30 to 70 million) treats them as a trusted home service, speaking to them in their own language and even dialects, RFE and RL are established as a part of the daily life behind the Iron Curtain.

It must not be forgotten that they are equally important to the West for several reasons.

First, they inform the Communist public about news in both East and West. In doing so they force the Communist governments to confront issues they would otherwise prefer to hide from the public. Much of the world pressure against Moscow on the issue of Soviet Jewry has come about because Radio Liberty has continued to broadcast news of trials and persecutions and petitions for succor.

Second, and this is closely connected with the first, the stations have become a kind of sounding board or clearing house of priceless information on what's going on behind the Curtain. This information has often served to delineate the reality of the "workers' paradises" for people in both East and West.

For example, it was RFE which broke the news of the December 1970 price riots in Poland which eventually toppled the Gomulka government. Polish state radio was keeping a tight lid on news of the bloody rioting in the streets of Gdansk until RFE began broadcasting news bulletins which alerted the Western news media.

In fact, so reliable is the reporting of the two stations that most top Communist officials appear to

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continued

use them assiduously to keep informed. Henryk Direcki, director of the Cultural Exchange Department of the Polish Foreign Ministry for eight years before his defection in 1968, reports:

"RFE news and commentaries are topics of daily discussions at all levels, including members of the Central Committee...and the governmental officers."

In Prague each morning, members of the Presidium, top government officials and newspaper editors receive a thick bulletin marked "Secret" printed on red and blue paper containing digests of the latest RFE broadcasts.

By simply telling the truth, by simply broadcasting facts, the stations provide a constant embarrassment to the Communist governments. The Library of Congress report on RFE transmits the chagrined reaction of a minor Polish Communist official Stanislaw Mialkowski:

"...Members are influenced by the hostile programs of 'Free Europe.' We activists are [therefore] not always able to adopt the right attitude to some matters. For instance, we only learned about the regulations of wages and prices very late, while people in the street talked about it several days before."

Writing from the Ukraine, a listener to RL thanked the station for its flow of information and castigated his own government for its "cowardly silence and wish to hide a pig in a poke from their very own people." In an apologetic manner the Ukrainian listener continued:

"I only regret that I am a Russian and still live in this wretched Russia and have to write in shameful block letters like an illiterate at a time of freedom of the press and speech" (presumably he was referring to efforts to disguise his handwriting). In an eloquent denunciation of Moscow's stranglehold on freedom of information the writer noted:

"...To our shame and regret we have to learn the truth not from the voice of the public, but from abroad. And all this serves only to undermine more and more [Moscow's] authority.... Let me express over and over to you my acknowledgement that you have been able to open my eyes and broaden my horizon."

Particularly embarrassing and infuriating to the Russians is the fact that RFE and particularly RL have become the rallying point and "bulletin board" for the extensive dissident movement in the Soviet Union. The movement encompasses a wide spectrum of Soviet life but is particularly concentrated among the intellectuals.

The chief manifestation of this movement has been the much-heralded *samizdat*, or self-published writings of protest which, though banned by the Kremlin, are quoted widely by listeners of RL.

Writings by men like Marchenko, Pasternak, Solzhenitzyn and Platinov are familiar staples on the RL airwaves. The Russian people eagerly (and illegally) tape these broadcasts to listen to in areas where heavy jamming precludes reception.

Some of these tapes are sold on the black market for as high as \$140.

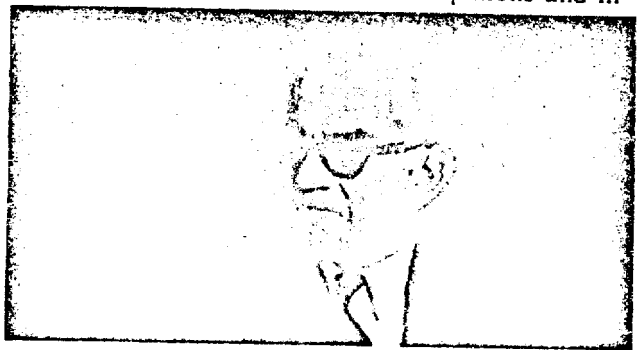
In addition to these more prominent works of protest, RL broadcasts the appeals of religious and ethnic groups seeking freedom of worship or simply freedom from government harassment. These broadcasts often force the government to confront the issue, however obliquely, to answer public opinion. Public opinion was a phenomenon the Kremlin had hoped it could do without. But that was before RL.

RFE and RL broadcasts have ignited the desire of untold thousands of people to leave the East bloc and come to the West, bringing skills and valuable information with them. Nuclear scientists, literary figures, artists, a wide intellectual spectrum, have "testified with their feet" to the awakening provided by these two radio stations.

A poignant example of this was provided by Dr. Alexey Vasilovich Levin, a former nuclear physicist who defected from the USSR in 1968. Testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, he said that were it not for Radio Liberty he might well have been "sitting in a Soviet tank in Czechoslovakia, or being expelled from the Sudan as a Soviet adviser implicated in an attempted Communist takeover or fulfilling some other imperialist role."

Dr. Levin praised the "information which seeps into the Soviet Union from abroad. It was only because of that uncensored information that I stopped to think about the reality of Soviet life around me."

Explaining the effect of RL broadcasts on himself and fellow intellectuals, Levin said, "It was like circles on the water. One listener was like a stone in the water, in my case because the opinions and in-



Sen. Fulbright wants to curtail the anti-Communist radio broadcasts in the belief that they harm U.S.-USSR relations.

formation of Radio Liberty so stirred me inwardly that I got excited about it—this opinion, this information that I could never receive from the Soviet media. So, I had an impulse to share my opinion, my analysis of this information with my fellow students, or with the young scientists with whom I worked."

Sen. Fulbright remains unmoved by any testimony of this sort. As *Die Welt* correspondent Barth says, "One does not hear one word from him about the suppression of freedom and human rights in Communist countries."

The Arkansas senator maintains firmly that the stations' alleged policy "to stir up trouble in Eastern Europe and Russia is contrary to the President's own policy." Yet President Nixon himself, in a letter to RFE last December said:

"The free flow of information and ideas among nations is indispensable to more normal relations as between East and West and to better prospects for an enduring peace."

The Belgian Socialist newspaper *le Peuple* has commented:

"The disappearance of RFE would permit the Communist parties perceptibly to improve their control of the population, and by this increase their level of security. Viewed in this manner the closure of RFE would certainly contribute to détente; but can one really plead for a détente which manifestly goes against the interests of the inhabitants of Eastern Europe?"

Interestingly enough, it is the intellectual community, the "thinking elite" behind the Iron Curtain, which appears to be most strongly for the stations. Many bubbling Galbraithians believe those intellectuals hold the key to change in the Soviet Union and the East Bloc. But they often fail to realize that much of the hope and inspiration for these intellectuals has been provided by the two radio stations.

"I well remember," says Soviet emigré Natalia Belinkev, wife of the late well-known Soviet literary critic Arkady Belinkev, "the efforts made by my friends to hear, despite difficulty, the unfettered word filtering through jamming."

"My invalid husband would spend hours sitting tensely before the radio, operating the volume and tuning controls with both hands. We saved our money, and even went without necessities, in order to buy the most sensitive receiver.... The ending or altering in character of Radio Liberty broadcasts would be a major catastrophe for the Soviet opposition."

Russian author A. Anatoli Kuznetsov, winner of the Stalin Prize, joined eight other exiled scholars and writers to report:

"When we listened to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty their programs were for us a substitute for a free press non-existent in our countries.... To speak the language of a free press and not of the government propaganda... makes [RFE and RL] so attractive to their audiences. To deprive them of that life-line would be indeed a crime against liberty."

It may be difficult for Sen. Fulbright, who recently characterized the concentration camp-cum-secret police regime of Joseph Stalin as "rather unreasonable," to comprehend the idea of a crime against liberty. He is still opposed to the stations and seems satisfied to leave the people behind the Iron Curtain in darkness.

Lest Richard Nixon, in his first year in the Kremlin this May, begin to think likewise, he would

do well to recall the friendly crowds that greeted him on his trip to Poland in 1959 and his trip to Rumania in 1971. Expert observers agree that it was the announcements of these trips over Radio Free Europe that caused the big turn-out.



West German governments may chip in

# Will free radios be terminated?

By NICHOLAS DANILOFF

By United Press International

The time: The early 1960s. The place: Prague. The occasion: A state visit to Czechoslovakia by Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev.

The rotund Soviet premier descends from his jetliner on arrival from Moscow and lines up with Czech dignitaries to review an honor guard.

Suddenly he notices one of his shoe laces is untied. He stoops to tie it.

Rrrrrrip!

His trousers have split down the back.

In an instant an aide appears at Khrushchev's side with a freshly pressed pair of trousers over his arm.

"But how did you know so quickly that my pants had split?" Khrushchev inquires.

"Oh, I heard it on Radio Free Europe," the aide replies.

No one pretends that really happened, but the story got wide circulation — and laughs — in Eastern European countries among RFE listeners who depended on it for uncensored news.

This was the kind of news that RFE and its sister outlet, Radio Liberty, were created in 1949 to broadcast to the Soviet Union and other communist countries behind the Iron Curtain.

## RESTRAINED NOW

Twenty-three years later, times have changed. The radio's broadcasts, in the opinion of diplomats and experts, have become more restrained. But the prospects for their future are murky, to say the least.

The radios were established in West Germany with secret financing from the Central Intelligence Agency to counter the highly controlled press and radio of the communist governments.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty made it their business to broadcast back to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union information on events which went unmentioned by the official communist media. They broadcast news about unauthorized strikes, intellectual ferment, natural disasters.

To help, they made use of radio monitors and research institutions — staffed partly by refugees and partly by western specialists. The two radio stations published their research papers which were useful to scholars, journalists and western intelligence.

From the U.S. point of view, the radios were promoting the free flow of information to an

area where information was severely rationed. From the communist point of view, the radios were and are an irritant; they were clearly subversive and undermined communist authority; they constituted interference in the internal affairs of the communist countries;

## JUNE 30 DEADLINE

These points of view stem from a fundamental ideological difference in communist and western attitudes, but now the matter of the operations has blossomed into a troublesome dispute between Congress and the Administration. The dispute promises to be of continuing difficulty for top Administration officials.

President Nixon signed a bill on March 30 to continue financing the two radio stations until June 30. They are being funded at \$32 million a year, down from \$36 million. The President had to fight to get the bill out of Congress. On March 11, in a special White House statement, he said it would be a tragedy if the radios were forced to close down.

The President was primarily countering the tough opposition of Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., who questions the value of the radios' continued existence. He would have them eliminated — or at least financed at a far smaller level by the United States.

"I didn't intend for this to become a cause celebre," Sen. Fulbright said in an interview. "I'm primarily for cutting costs. Why, we in Arkansas have difficulty in getting \$5 million for sewer and water projects."

The senator, who for weeks created a parliamentary impasse which threw the future of the stations into doubt, does not appear to be impossibly hostile to the continued broadcast operations.

"I'm not going to die if these radio stations continue," he said. "I don't mind if the United States shares the operating expenses with a number of Western European governments and pays, say, one third or one fourth of the costs."

But he does raise a number of hard questions about the radio stations.

He calls them "relics of the cold war." Radio Free Europe has been accused of encouraging the abortive Hungarian rebellion of 1956 and of spreading unrest in Poland during December, 1970, demonstrations.

Sen Fulbright notes that Soviet leaders, on the eve of President Nixon's visit to Moscow next month, still regard the broadcasts as subversive.

To continue these broadcasts, he says, is to

cast doubt on the sincerity of the United States in achieving an East-West entente.

If the radios do perform a useful function from the U.S. point of view, Sen. Fulbright suggests that their job be performed by the Voice of America.

A number of specialists disagree, saying this would lay the United States open to the charge of interfering in the internal affairs of the countries of Eastern Europe. While RFE and Radio Liberty are regarded as semi-independent, Voice of America is directly government operated.

Sen. Fulbright's dissent has not killed the radios. But it has forced the Administration to take a serious new look at RFE and Radio Liberty, how they perform and what their value is.

## PROOF OF VALUE

Officials are fond of comments by Communist officials which acknowledge the radios provide useful information, particularly in Eastern Europe.

Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn, the dissident, Nobel Prize-winning Russian author, declared in a recent outburst against the Soviet government that Radio Liberty was one of the few sources of true information in his country.

The State Department is now studying how best to finance the radio stations in the future.

At congressional hearings last May and September, it was suggested that a public-private corporation be created to keep the radios going.

Possibly, West European governments which are in closer geographical proximity to the Soviet Union, might chip in. It is felt here that West Germany may have a particular interest in shaping the future of RFE and Radio Liberty, since they operate from that country.

Before approaching the Western Europeans the State Department is sounding out the mood in Congress. A first step is quiet consultation with Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania, Sen Charles Percy, R-Ill., and Rep. Dante Fascell, D-Fla.

Sen. Percy sponsored a Senate resolution which won 67 votes in favor of continuing the radios. Representative Fascell proposed an unsuccessful house bill which would have financed the radios for two more years.

Once the extent of congressional support is estimated, the State Department will begin contacting West Germany and other nations about supporting the two stations.



STATINTL

## Ask Chiang

Last week, President Nixon signed a three-month reprieve for Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, the Munich-based stations that broadcast, respectively, to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The appropriations bill provides enough money to carry the stations through to the end of this fiscal year, at which time Congress will consider a new Administration request for funds—that is, if the Administration bothers to make such a request.

Each day, the odds grow slimmer, and not, strangely, because of the stations' most vocal opponent, Senator J. William Fulbright. To be sure, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee has led the charge against the stations, whooping that they should take their "rightful place in the graveyard of cold-war relics." And the bill that the President has just signed does represent a victory for the Senator, who vowed to hold up all legislation on the stations until the Potomac parted, rather than agree to long-term funding. Nonetheless, not even Senator Fulbright can write the death sentence on RFE and Radio Liberty.

No, that dubious distinction could be claimed only by President Nixon, who must choose whether to circumvent the Fulbrights of the world. In the recent battle over the stations, the President did little more than slough the entire issue, notwithstanding his longtime pledges of support for the

stations. There will be Moscow in May, and the President must not be too bold in such trivial but sensitive matters as straight-talking radio stations.

That is why disc-jockeys in Munich these days are reading want ads. Since 1950, RFE and Radio Liberty have passed truth over the Iron Curtain to millions of grateful listeners who could get it no other way. Despite excesses during the Hungarian Revolution and despite past support by the Central Intelligence Agency, the two stations have consistently offered objective and non-inflammatory programming from news to music. No Tokyo Roses, no Lord Haw Haws, no Hanoi Hannahs. Just the straight stuff.

As a result, the Kremlin has despised the stations from the start: Propaganda can be countered by truth far more easily than the other way around. So when the President goes to Moscow, the Soviets undoubtedly will suggest to Mr. Nixon what a nice gesture it would be if RFE and Radio Liberty were sent to the guillotine. Mr. Nixon just might say yes, and tell the nation upon his return that—in Senator Fulbright's words—"I find it incomprehensible after these years of direct contact with the Soviet Union, that we must continue to support (these stations)." Anyone doubting such a possibility should address all inquiries to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.



NEW BRITAIN, CONN. .

HERALD APR 3 1972

E - 33,321

***Radio Free Europe  
should be maintained***

Dear Editor:

If Senator Fulbright has his way, Radio Free Europe will cease broadcasting this month. Funding ran out Feb. 22 following a charge by Mr. Fulbright, that RFE was being financed in part by the Central Intelligence Agency. He failed, however, to mention that constant monitoring of RFE programs revealed unbiased news reporting and straight commentary similar to that supplied by the three major networks. Our own republican representative, (Robert Steele) has demanded that Fulbright release two favorable and substantial reports on RFE to the public. Ironically the reports were ordered by his own committee on Foreign Relations, of which he is chairman.

Radio Free Europe stations broadcast to eastern European nations including those behind the iron curtain. Thus they are a potential threat to the soviet form of tyranny which has enslaved millions and prevented men and women from learning anything save "the party line." Why then does Senator Fulbright want RFE muzzled. Are we to believe the sole justification is association with the CIA?

There are thousands of Hungarians, Lithuanians, Czechoslovakians, Rumanians, Latvians and Bulgarians located in this state. Are they going to allow Mr. Fulbright the opportunity of shutting down RFE? Will they permit his ending, perhaps for all time, the one contact that keeps hope alive in the hearts and minds of relatives and friends behind the barbed wire of the USSR? I think not. Please write or telegram representative Steele so that he will know you care. Do it for those you love, do it for RFE, but do it.

DOUG WARDWELL  
74 Sylvan Rd.

STATINTL

## Mr. Kleindienst, Meet Mr. Shakespeare

The current flap over whether it is appropriate for a USIA film to be shown on Senator Buckley's TV show, designed for constituent consumption, contains a lot of legal analysis, high drama and low comedy. Lurking in the background is a continuing conflict between Senator Fulbright and the USIA over the value and the merit of some of that agency's efforts, most notably, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. And somewhere in the foreground is a statement by a USIA official on the taped Buckley show to the effect that the foreign policy views of the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are "naive and stupid." And right in the middle is a large question of law and policy about whether it is either lawful or wise for the U.S. information agency to make its output, originally designed for use abroad, available here at home through a political figure, or through anyone else for that matter.

When the press reported that the taped Buckley show existed, Senator Fulbright, ignoring the reference to him, asked the Department of Justice to restrain its release on the ground that the USIA was not authorized by law to distribute its material domestically. At about the same time, USIA Director Shakespeare issued a statement acknowledging past difficulties with the senator, but stating the hope that "future discussions . . . will be conducted, as they have been heretofore in a courteous and respectful manner."

Then, Mr. Shakespeare sent the senator a formal apology repeating the tone of his earlier statement and commenting on the issue at hand: "There is also a question in my mind as to the propriety of the national archives release of a USIA film to a political figure for use on a domestic TV program . . . I can well see that the use of the film by a political figure, even on an educational program, is of questionable validity." He informed the senator that he had asked his general counsel to instruct the archives that such use of film does not conform to the agency's judgment of the proprieties involved and thus that such material was not to be used in that manner in the future.

At this point it seemed that those who fear the development of a governmental domestic propaganda capacity could all relax. But it was not to be. On Friday, Acting Attorney General Kleindienst sent over his answer to the senator's request to stay USIA's hand. Astonishingly, he found that words in the act establishing the USIA were in-

tended to permit USIA materials to be made available to the American public through the press and through members of Congress.

This analysis is remarkable in view of the language of the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 creating the USIA. As we read it, this language speaks only of the promotion of understanding of the United States and her people "in other countries" and to that end of the "establishment of an information service to disseminate *abroad*" information about the United States. When, in 1965, there was strong public interest in a USIA film on President Kennedy, the Congress passed a special joint resolution to permit the agency to release the film to the American public. During the debate on the issue, Senator Mundt, one of the authors of the original USIA bill, said, in an executive session of the Foreign Relations Committee, that during the original debate, one of the most hotly contested issues was whether the Congress was creating a "domestic propaganda agency." He added: "We put in a section specifically to prevent it."

The Foreign Relations Committee Report on the Kennedy film resolution contained the following language: "It is the further sense of Congress that the expression of congressional intent embodied in this Joint Resolution is to be limited solely to the film referred to herein and that nothing contained in this Joint Resolution should be construed to establish a precedent for making other material prepared by USIA available for general distribution in the United States." Now that seems pretty clear. Yet the acting attorney general found otherwise.

The dangers to a free people of a creeping practice of governmentally developed propaganda material being broadly disseminated to the American public are too obvious for extended analysis, particularly when the first instance of such dissemination is through a political figure of the same general political persuasion as the administration in power. We think that Mr. Shakespeare's instincts and judgments were correct and that Mr. Kleindienst was wrong on both the law and the policy. Fortunately, sources within USIA express an intention to adhere to the limitation in Mr. Shakespeare's letter. But we think that that limitation should be broadened. It should not simply apply to dissemination through public figures, but to all dissemination to the American public.

Finally, it is only fair to say that Mr. Fulbright, far from being either stupid or naive on this matter, was eminently wise.

M - 240,275

S - 674,302

# America's anti-propaganda radio stations

By Robert J. White  
Of the editorial page staff

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have an assured future of three months. Unless Congress overcomes the objections of the powerful chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, two decades of broadcasts by RFE and RL to Communist countries will end.

That is what Sen. William Fulbright hopes will happen. The two Munich-based stations are, he says, "Cold War relics," vestiges of an outdated, evangelical foreign policy that assumes others "will act like we want them to act if we only tell them how."

The Nixon administration, and even many who have been criticizing RFE-RL past practices, believe that the stations still play a necessary role. After Sen. Clifford Case blew their CIA "cover" a year ago, he and others in Congress pushed for legislation that would openly fund RFE and RL and continue their operations. The administration differed on details, but agreed in principle.

But with Fulbright's hand on the legislative brake, an impasse developed in February that threatened momentarily to extinguish the stations. A brief reprieve came March 11 in a compromise for funding until June 30. The short-term agreement gave President Nixon the opportunity to reaffirm his support for RFE and RL as a "vital source of uncensored news and commentary for tens of millions of people."

"Cold War relic" or "vital source"? The view offered here is that Mr. Nixon's statement comes closer to the mark than Fulbright's. That conclusion is based on three arguments: First, RFE and RL are not the deterrents to detente they are sometimes made out to be. Second, the stations are carrying out a positive purpose that might be pursued by other means — but no other means are in sight. Third, the stations are effective at reasonable cost.

It is true that the Cold War produced RFE and RL. The Cold War also produced NATO, the Warsaw Pact, the Berlin Wall and various other "relics" that are still around. It is true, too, that a whole series of East-West negotiations, in process or imminent, depend on a good working relationship between Moscow and Washington. Arms limitation, European security, Middle East, trade — all are on the agenda, and the President's forthcoming trip to Moscow gives special urgency to preserving an atmosphere in which negotiations are possible.

But to argue that RFE and RL are barriers to such negotiations is to overlook the East-West negotiating progress already made, despite attacks on the stations. RFE came under particularly heavy Communist criticism last year after it gave early and extensive coverage to the December 1970 riots in Poland. At the same time, Communist governments complained to West Germany that allowing the stations to broadcast from Munich was at odds with Chancellor Willy Brandt's *ostpolitik*, or negotiations with the East.

But Brandt's *ostpolitik* is now jeopardized more by faltering support in his own parliament than by Communist intransigence. And last fall's four-power agreement on Berlin, which only dedicated optimists had thought even remotely possible, would surely not have been reached if RFE and RL were the impediments to detente Fulbright believes them to be.

It's not enough, of course, to say merely that RFE and RL do no discernible harm. Another important question is whether they serve a positive purpose. On Fulbright's premise, the answer is no. On the other premise — that the Cold War has changed, not vanished — the answer is yes.

Unlike the 1950s and '60s, the 1970s are providing abundant signs that East and West want to expand their contacts, prevent great-power confrontations and promote political stability in Europe. The least change is in the unfashionable, but nevertheless real, area of ideological differences.

Party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev last month promised 6,000 Soviet trade unionists that improved East-West relations will not bring a relaxation in the "ideological struggle." President Nixon sounded the same theme in February, saying of the Soviet Union, "We are ideological adversaries and will remain so." Each is stating the belief — as are other leaders, East and West — that people in antithetical political systems can coexist without forfeiting their ideological principles.

A fundamental principle of the Soviet ideological struggle is restraint of the free flow of ideas and information. A fundamental principle of Western ideology is precisely the opposite. And there is a further distinction.

"Struggle," to the Soviet Union and allied countries, also means spreading their political viewpoint abroad. Radio Moscow and Radio Peace and Freedom (the latter a theoretically "independent" station) broadcast about 1,900 hours per week outside the Soviet union in 80 foreign languages. Another 1,900 hours per week of external broadcasts come from East European stations; Radio Prague, for example, includes programs in Spanish, Italian and German.

The distinction between these and Western programs designed for Eastern audiences is both quantitative and qualitative. The weekly hours broadcast by Voice of America, RFE and RL combined are about the same as the foreign-language broadcasts from the Soviet Union alone. But that does not mean a superpower parity in propaganda.

Voice of America, which Secretary of State Rogers describes as "the principal interpreter of U.S. domestic and foreign policy to the peoples abroad," clearly promotes the American viewpoint. But only 40 percent of its broadcasts are in English. It is difficult to see how it will be demonstrated, by no reasonable definition can RFE and RL be considered propaganda stations. If they

## Correspondence

STATINTL

### Foreign Broadcast

Sirs:

As an admirer of the quality of your editorials and original research, I was disappointed with your March 4 "Enlightening the Natives," advocating that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty be shut down.

First, you imply that, since Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) are subsidized by US government funds, they could not be more "independent" than the Voice of America. The VOA broadcasts official views but does not broadcast views of the domestic affairs of the countries to which they are talking. (Radio Free Europe not only talks about events in Poland, but gives extensive information on sports, agricultural developments and cultural events in the West as they relate to Poland.)

Second, the editorial says the purpose of the stations is "not merely to give the news, but to encourage, perhaps to incite, change inside Communist countries." Of course it encourages change. Isn't that the object of a liberal foreign policy? The stations give facts, alternative information people can use. American liberals long have been pointing to the fact that there is a Sino-Soviet split, but it was Radio Free Europe that first made extensive broadcasts on these differences in 1962 and helped give Romania and other countries more room in which to maneuver in the schism.

Third, the editorial says, "If the Bulgarians, why not the Spaniards and the South Africans and the Brazilians," etc.? Since it is not fashionable in liberal circles to be disturbed over Soviet hegemony, it at least ought to be recognized that the last two world wars began in this area and it remains in a highly unstable equilibrium. Let's face it: the fate of the Brazilian Indians, however unjust, has not yet become a serious chal-

lenge to the survival of the West.

Fourth, your editorial says, "... as a matter of national policy, we doubt the efficacy of the attitude that *we* know what's good for *them*." The radios aren't operating under that assumption. Rather they operate on the assumption that the more information people have, the better they can decide how they want to run their lives. Your editorial implies that RFE broadcasts to people whether they like or not: it is their government that may not like it, but surveys show the broadcasts are widely received among the people in Eastern Europe and that Radio Liberty is a crucial support to liberal elements in the Soviet Union who hunger for a substitute free press.

Fifth, your editorial says the money ought to be used for American broadcasts instead. You should know such an either-or argument isn't necessary.

Hap Carwood  
Dayton, Ohio

3 1 MAR 1972

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STATINTL

## An Underground View of Radio Liberty

By DEAN MILLS

*Moscow.*

There is no way of gauging public opinion in a country where the government owns the press and all the research institutions. No one, Westerner or Russian, can guess with any accuracy how much of an effect Western radio stations have upon Soviet audiences.

But Westerners living here do know, from limited firsthand contact with Russians, that many of them listen regularly to the BBC, Voice of America, Radio Israel, or Radio Liberty. Members of the constituency have included the late Nikita Khrushchev (reportedly a Voice of America fan) and Aleksander Solzhenitsyn (BBC).

A 3,000-word essay is now circulating in the Moscow underground, attacking United States Senator J. William Fulbright for trying to cut off funds for Radio Liberty, the station which devotes the most time to the Soviet Union. (Radio Free Europe, another of Senator Fulbright's targets, broadcasts only to the other Eastern bloc countries). The writer of the essay is reliably reported to be a physicist, German Smirnovsky, who has never been active in the dissident movement.

The language is at times intemperate, in the style of most Russian political tracts. And the straight-forward anti-communism of the writer is almost certainly shared by no more than a small minority of his countrymen. But the essay gives some rare insights into the Russian's ear view of Western radio broadcasts. And it is a reminder that there are people here, however small their number may be, who do not accept the *Pravda* interpretation of

Western radio stations, or of anything else.

Here are excerpts from the essay, entitled "Whose side are you on, Mr. Fulbright?":

"The city sleeps. At least so it seems to the policemen who patrol the frozen capital. The sound of the snowstorm muffles the clanking of their hobnail boots on the pavement.

"But what is this? In Moscow apartments, villages on the steppes of Central Asia, in the Siberian Taiga a voice is heard, a human voice, speaking in Russian, so unlike the official ravings of the Soviet language.

" 'This is Radio Liberty.' "

"It penetrates every remote corner of the country and finds a response in the heart of every decent person in Russia. And the super-jamming, for which taxpayers every year put up to a million rubles, does not help. Nor do the snoop neighbors—KGB agents who expose those who listen to Western stations (God knows how much our people pay this bunch of informers), nor the slanderous articles in the official press. Communism, with its anti-human face, is powerless against the free world.

"The closing of Radio Liberty would have terrible consequences for our country. And if Fulbright succeeds in closing the radio station, then the question automatically arises: Where will this Russophobe turn next? Perhaps to the Russian section of the Voice of America?

"Not one of the other Western radio stations could replace Radio Liberty for listeners in the Soviet Union. Let us consider the more popular stations:

"Voice of America: The usual length of broadcasts in the Rus-

sian language is six hours in the evening and two in the morning. When the government was not jamming foreign government broadcasts, Voice of America enjoyed great success in the most varied circles of society. In the apartments of many of my acquaintances, particularly among youth, the station was heard from 7 o'clock in the evening until 1 o'clock in the morning.

"The news on the hour (still) is popular. After that, radio listeners generally turn to other stations. Few people want to listen to stories about how some farmer in Iowa had a huge corn harvest or about some famous American woman Negro athlete who is completely unknown here.

"BBC—This radio station broadcasts in Russian five hours a day. In Russia, there is a widespread feeling that the most objective, 'disinterested' news is broadcast by the BBC. In fact, it almost fully corresponds to the news given by Voice of America. The station is jammed in all of Moscow much more strongly than the broadcasts of its American colleague. It devotes a great deal of time to events in Ulster and Malta.

"Radio Israel—It is also popular in Russia, but mainly among Jewish circles. I am struck by the abundance of Jewish information from Russia that is broadcast by the station. Many letters, petitions and telegrams are read on the radio the same day they are written in the Soviet Union.

"The party 'brothers' ... also broadcast full programs in Russian—Radio Peking and Radio Tirana. They are popular in certain circles of workers who, like all people, are displeased with the party bosses. Like those of Radio

Belgrade, they are intended for Communists. But there are few such people in Russia, Communists of conviction rather than convenience, and for the rest these broadcasts are simply not interesting.

"However, when one succeeds in receiving Radio Liberty, absolutely everyone listens to it. In addition to giving its listeners truthful information and preserving Russian cultural values, Radio Liberty tries to educate listeners as decent people, to correct moral cripples after 50 years of Communist tyranny, to combat the pettiness formed in the minds of the people.

"It is difficult to convey the full significance of Radio Liberty for Russia. One can learn things the party bosses concealed from the people in the course of their rule. The truth about the political trials of the Thirties, the true face of Lenin and his supporters, and the great heritage in literature, philosophy and social science which is hidden away in the locked rooms of libraries.

"To lose Radio Liberty means for Russia losing freedom, the little left to us, in the literal sense of the word. The freedom to get true information about our country. Not one Western radio station gives this so well, with the understanding of the needs of Russia, as does Radio Liberty.

"Fulbright and his supporters say that Radio Liberty is a relic of the Cold War. Consider this phrase: How stupid it sounds by itself. No, Radio Liberty is not a relic of the Cold War, but of the human necessity to end the moral murder of 250 million people. And for the Cold War, it continues. From one side. From the side of the Kremlin rulers ... "

31 MAR 1972

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## Confidence Vote

# Foreign Student Population Grows

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

THE NUMBER of foreign students at American universities has been growing at a rate described by the State Department, which is not normally given to unrestrained language, as "spectacular." 34,000 in 1954, 82,000 in 1965, 145,000 in 1971. Though rising costs, open-enrollment, "Americans first" pressures and the buildup of facilities back home may now be cutting off further growth, the figures are indeed spectacular, not to say intriguing and quietly cheering. They seem to say something about America that, for a change, most of us can agree is nice to hear.

The figures are, first of all, evidence of the most compelling sort of the attractions which education and experience in the United States have around the world: 37 per cent of foreign students come from the Far East, 20 per cent from Latin America, 13 from Europe, 12 from the Middle East, 9 from North America, and 6 from Africa. (Overall, three of four are men.) Students began coming in numbers in the 50s. That was understandable because their choices were limited and, to many, the American dream was still bright. Rising appetites for education and the stimulus of a certain Soviet-American rivalry for the allegiance of the world's young, thought to be a key group, brought more students in the 60s.

But the 70s, when supposedly Vietnam had proven beyond any innocent's doubt that America was over, turned sour, a crass out-of-control machine; when word about our failings had supposedly filtered back to the remotest third-world village and slum... Well, here are 145,000 foreigners, most presumably from their homelands' elites, casting by their presence what you might call a vote of confidence in the United States.

NO, you may say, they're merely gritting their teeth, exploiting our naivete and our superior educational plant, and hating us the more for knowing us when they finally go home. Perhaps. Reliable follow-up attitudinal studies are scarce. Yet too many of us have met and known too many foreign students to really believe that, I would guess. They may be "exploiting" us but we—especially our students—are "exploiting" them too. To know us may not be to love us but surely to know us is at least to pause and consider our complexities before rendering a verdict, however harsh.

You may also suspect that our government is out there buying up unaware or desperate young people in order to "influence" them or to prevent the Russians (or Chinese) from winning a crucial battle for hearts and minds. But less than one in 20 foreign students is supported by the government, and then customarily only in inadequate partial measure. Some 37 per cent of

the total are self-supporting; 32 per cent's support is unknown; most of the rest are carried by American organizations—universities, foundations, and the like. It is not by official government policy but by individual foreign choice and, beyond that, by private voluntary American demand that foreigners study at our campuses.

This is an interesting point to ponder at a moment when predictions of a national slide toward neo-isolationism are widely in vogue. Not only are foreigners evidently not fed up with us; we evidently are not fed up with them. It is the decision of hundreds of universities and other groups to contribute to foreigners' and their own enrichment by maintaining and expanding these very tangible continuing ties.

"The government" in its various aspects is important. For instance, the 25-year-old Fulbright-Hays program has brought 140,000 foreigners scholars here. Senator Fulbright hailed his brainchild just the other day "because it leads to the civilizing of our people so they don't engage in periodic blood-letting." (He contrasted Fulbright-Hays, by the way, with Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, whose "propaganda" broadcasts he hopes to terminate; although just why it's fine to let a foreigner see us close up with his own eyes, but not to hear us from a distance with his own ears, is not obvious.)

Mr. Nixon's own attitude can perhaps be fairly indicated by the fact that, as Vice President in 1958, he made a rare appearance before the Senate Appropriations Committee, testifying for, if you will, Fulbright-Hays. In his administration, the State Department's budget for foreign-student services has increased: back-home counseling, on-campus orientation, travel (State persuaded the National Association of Motor Bus Owners to facilitate "See America" tour tickets), etc. The department feels that emphasis on these auxiliary programs aiding individual students is all the more important now that the international youth and student organizations of the '50s and '60s are pretty much spent.

THE rationale for official interest is displayed by the title—"Leaders for Tomorrow, A Review of U.S. Programs for Foreign Students"—of the last annual report of Assistant Secretary of State John Richardson Jr. "No one can say with assurance what specific education and experience produces a leader," the report says. "But it's a certainty that more and more of tomorrow's leaders here and elsewhere will be drawn from those who study outside their own country, or have had some opportunity to observe other nations and peoples." To observe not as soldiers or tourists or emigrants, it might be added, but as individuals who come for a peaceable purpose, stay long enough for deep exposure and go home.

Foreigners' study here, the report concludes, "makes them members of the new international fraternity, the transnational community of the concerned." It is this group in each country which is most likely to develop new forms of international coop-

eration, and to work consciously among themselves and other nations, including the United States, to solve some of mankind's common problems. To the extent that we as American individuals, communities, institutions or public or private agencies, help them build ties with U.S. classmates, friends and professional colleagues, we contribute towards this long-sought international partnership for peace." Amen.



MAR 30 1972

E - 9,635

## *Government Deceit*

Deceit in government has no place in an America that reveres its first President for his declaration, "I cannot tell a lie."

But deceit has been rotting America's government in recent years, so much so that nearly half the Americans questioned in a 1970 survey said they no longer believed what their government told them.

Americans had new reason for their distrust this week, when Administration officials and Congressional aides worked out a way to continue government financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty until June 30.

They were reminded that these radio stations have been financed to the tune of \$500 million by the CIA, and they remembered those stirring television commercials through the years that urged them to contribute their gifts to Radio Free Europe to carry the truth behind the Iron Curtain, when all the while their contributions were not needed.

Americans have a degree of sophistication. They understood, when they found out a couple of years ago that Radio Free Europe would not die if they stopped sending contributions, that its effectiveness among its European listeners might have been diminished if they had known the broadcasts were really U.S. government broadcasts.

But Americans still do not like to be duped by anybody, much less by their own government.

And they could well wonder, now that the world has known for a couple of years that these radio stations are government financed, why the government is so eager to continue them if that knowledge has rendered their words suspect.

Those words need not be suspect. Governments can tell the truth. Governments can demonstrate integrity, and when they do they find that they are more powerful at home and throughout the world because they can be trusted.

Paul Joseph Goebbels, propaganda chief for Adolph Hitler, lamented in his diary because the German government had lied to its own people but Winston Churchill had told the truth to his, Churchill could inspire more determination and enthusiasm among the British by announcing a defeat than Hitler could inspire among the Germans by announcing a victory.

Let Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty go on, and let them tell the news with a candor and honesty that cannot be challenged, and let the government of the United States treat its own citizens with the respect owed

30 MAR 1972

# Letters to the Editor

## 'The Orange Card'

STATINTL

SIR: The gratuitous criticism in your March 25 editorial with respect to my position on Northern Ireland ignores an obvious fact. The new peace initiative announced last week by Prime Minister Heath coincides almost precisely with two of the most important provisions in the resolution I introduced in Congress last October with Senator Abe Ribicoff and Congressman Hugh Carey—the promised phase-out of internment, and the institution of direct rule of Ulster from Westminster.

My only real regret is that the initiative was so long delayed in coming, and that so many innocent lives were lost before Britain decided to act. All of us hope and pray that the new policy will be successful in halting the killing and violence. Simple humanity requires us to continue to speak out to insure the earliest possible end to the tragedy.

One other point should be made about your editorial. Anyone familiar with Ulster history must wince at the obvious blunder in your use of the famous expression "Playing the Orange Card" to describe Prime Minister Heath's initiative. Lord Randolph Churchill coined the phrase in the 1880s and played the card in opposition to Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. As Churchill wrote to Lord Justice Fitzgibbon in 1886:

"I decided some time ago that if the GOM (Grand Old Man, Gladstone) went for Home Rule, the Orange Card would be the one to play. Please God, it may turn out the ace of trumps and not the two."

Ever since, the phrase has been used to denote attempts to stir up the Orange Order in Ulster and other Protestant opposition to British policy. The phrase can hardly be used to describe a progressive British initiative. For nearly a hundred years, British policy toward Ireland has been paralyzed by fear of the abominable Orange Card. Now, Prime Minister Heath has faced the challenge, and for that he deserves great credit.

Edward M. Kennedy,  
U.S. Senator.

## Radio Free Europe

SIR: Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are very important means of communication with the captive nations in Eastern Europe. People behind the Iron Curtain deserve hearing news and information from the Free World. Any dollar we spend for this cause is worth it from the humanitarian point of view. If present conditions are such that we cannot help them otherwise, the least we can do is to extend them unbiased information.

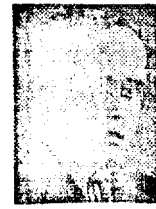
I oppose Sen. J.W. Fulbright's attempt to discontinue funds for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Closing of these broadcasts would be a service to the international communism.

John B. Genys,  
President, Lithuanian-American Community of Greater Washington.

29 MAR 1972

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STATINTL

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

## Detente Versus RFE

DESPITE PRESIDENT Nixon's total support for continuing Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) broadcasts to Communist Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, hard-line skeptics are fearful his policy of detente with the Communist world is subtly undermining freedom of the two radios to keep operating.

Subterranean signals that some Nixon advisers may be having second thoughts about the two radios beamed to the Communist heartland were evident in the toned-down statement he belatedly put out March 11. That statement, asking Congress to break its long deadlock on financing the two radios, was issued only after the deadlock had in effect already been broken.

Thus, there must be a slight amendment in the over-all picture of Sen. J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas single-handedly defying congressional and public opinion in his fanatical campaign to silence RFE and RL, by far the most honest sources of news available in Eastern Europe and Russia. While his lobbyists battle Fulbright to keep the radios alive, hard-liners believed Mr. Nixon—so deeply involved in detente—shows signs of ambivalence.

For example, his March 11 statement was not issued until the nationalities division of the Republican National Committee reported to the White House the outrage among East European ethnic groups over presidential silence.

One early plan for the presidential statement was to include strong language on the vital importance of people-to-people contacts, using quotations from Mr. Nixon during his visit to the Great Wall of China Feb. 24. None of that survived the editing. The final version of the statement, while putting Mr. Nixon strongly on the side of continuing the broadcasts, was routine.

There are other signs Mr. Nixon's spectacular move toward detente with the Communist world is subtly undermining the freedom of U.S.-controlled broadcasts beamed to that world.

A costly Voice of America film on the plight of Tibetan refugees who fled after the Chinese takeover of Tibet has been banned by the White House. The film, entitled "The Man From the Missing Land," was finished in late spring, 1971. It was ordered locked up until after the President's trip to China.

Since Mr. Nixon's return,

repeated efforts to get White House clearance to send the film abroad have met a stone wall. The reason privately given: to air the film now, on the eve of the President's Moscow visit, could embarrass Peking.

THAT SAME problem of potential conflict between Mr. Nixon's foreign policy and RFE-RL is now arising in West Germany, where left-wing members of Chancellor Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party are pressing him not to renew the license for the Munich-based radios.

Partly as a result of that domestic political pressure, Brandt's government has quietly informed the Nixon administration that there will be no license renewal unless the U.S. agrees not to follow a line on RFE-RL that might "undermine" Brandt's Ostpolitik, epitomized by his new treaties with Warsaw and Moscow.

The first sign of West German hesitation over the impact of the radios on Brandt's Ostpolitik came almost two years ago. At that time, Mr. Nixon assured Frank Shakespeare, director of the United States Information Agency, which includes the Voice of America, and William F. Buckley Jr.

then a member of the USIA Advisory Commission, that he would not permit RFE-RL to die.

Tell the Germans, Mr. Nixon said, our troops in Europe and our radios in Munich go together. Two years later, with his own Ostpolitik in full bloom, that mood of the President appears slightly abated.

It is against that background that opposition to RFE-RL funding for the year starting July 1 must be examined. With their financing now on a routine cycle of annual authorization and appropriation in Congress, Fulbright as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has enormous influence over authorizing the broadcasts for another year. Fulbright, overriding a strong majority on his committee, insists with the passion of the ideologue that the broadcasts so eagerly awaited by the citizens of Eastern Europe are anachronistic relics of the cold war.

President Nixon flatly disagrees with Fulbright's dogma, publicly and privately. But hardliners insist that the heady and dominant fragrance of detente is subtly undercutting his position.

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## Blanton Backs Radio Stations

From The Commercial Appeal  
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 25. — Representative Ray Blanton (D-Tenn.) Saturday dismissed as "hogwash" arguments by Senator J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty irritate Soviet Union leaders and prevent a detente.

"While I have never voted for a foreign aid program," Blanton said in his weekly newsletter, "I believe Radio Free Europe is a worthy commitment for this nation."

The two Munich-based stations, operated by the Central Intelligence Agency, beam broadcasts to the Communist countries of Eastern Europe.

Fulbright has been leading a drive to have the stations terminated on grounds they are expensive irritants and "remnants of the cold war."

"I would rather see our tax money spent for a good purpose such as this," Blanton said, "than in trade with Communist countries or aid to countries who couldn't care less what happens to Americans in the long run. What the senators are suggesting is that we abandon any efforts to allow the people of captive nations to know the real truth about the free world."

"I don't think Congress will abandon the free world."

"I don't think Congress will abandon Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The specious arguments used against them won't convince the majority of the Congress to drop a program which has been most effective."

# Listening in on Radio Free Europe— The Station That Fulbright Wants to Shut Down

STATINTL

MUNICH.

"Mr. President, I submit that these radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold-war relics."

—SENATOR J. W. FULBRIGHT, speaking in the Senate on Feb. 17, 1972.

"It happens quite often that I am unable to hear your station because of the jamming. At such moments I feel like smashing the radio, as if the wooden box were to blame, and I almost cry in helpless rage. It seems to me that somebody wants to tear me away by force from my good friends. Be with us, as we remain with you."

—"YOUR LISTENER FROM CHRUDIM," writing to the Czechoslovak Department of Radio Free Europe on Sept. 27, 1971.

**N**O doubt the Senator from Arkansas is right. Radio Free Europe began broadcasting to five countries of Eastern and Central Europe at the height of the cold war, not to mention a hotter one raging in Korea, on July 4, 1950. But just as surely, the lady from Chrudim is right. She is just one of millions in her own country, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria who believe that their own newspapers, television and radio tell them lies, that nothing available to them is quite so reliable as Radio Free Europe.

As Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Fulbright prevented all Congressional attempts to renew funding for Radio Free Europe and its sister station, Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union, before their last appropriation expired Feb. 22. Despite a House bill providing new funds through June 30, 1973, and a Senate measure guaranteeing funds through next June 30, Fulbright has kept the stations living on borrowed time by blocking any compromise bill. The House will no doubt accept the Senate version (which the Administration has reluctantly backed) to keep

the stations from dying before June 30, but there is still pessimism here about its prospects. At a time when President Nixon will be preparing to visit Moscow, the pessimists ask, what chance is there for the passage of a measure to continue a service that has been a thorn in the Soviet side for many years?

The disclosure that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty operated on funds secretly supplied by the Central Intelligence Agency set off in the United States a heated debate on the propriety of continuing to pretend that they were private institutions supported by charitable contributions, and that debate ultimately led to Fulbright's stand. But the disclosures and the debate caused no concern among the stations' listeners. They continue to tune in with as much faith as an American might bring to a newspaper that has a decent record for factual reporting and an editorial policy with which he agrees more often than not. Their devotion is almost unmatched in countries that offer more than one credible source of news.

**I**T takes a while for a newcomer to the countries of the East to stop being surprised when a Polish or Rumanian friend says, "I heard on the radio last night . . ." and relays a bit of news that the Polish or Rumanian radio would announce only if its management, the Government, were to repudiate everything it stands for. "The radio" means Radio Free Europe; the Warsaw or Bucharest stations are more likely to be discussed as "they."

Despite its cold-war origins and C.I.A. sponsorship, Radio Free Europe's listeners consider it not a propaganda station, but the anti-propaganda station that adjusts the one-sided view of the world laid down for all domestic media by the information department of the central committee of each country's

By HENRY KAMM

ern Europe are sophisticated enough to know that Radio Free Europe is interested in influencing their minds, but they seem to feel that its methods do less violence to their intelligence than do those of the state media.

"We don't project one point of view, but the diversity of freedom," said Jan Nowak, the head of Radio Free Europe's Polish service.

Although it is an American station, recognized by its audience as such despite its neutral name, its programs do not reflect a specifically American point of view. The bulk of its news report is drawn from four news agencies, of which only one, United Press International, is American. The others are Reuters, of Britain; Agence France-Presse, and Deutsche Presse Agentur. More European newspapers of all political persuasions than American are cited in the press reviews that form an essential part of the programming.

Unlike the three other foreign broadcasters with large audiences in Eastern Europe—the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Voice of America and the West German Deutsche Welle—Radio Free Europe is not regarded as an official station pushing a government point of view. In countries in which only government views are broadcast and there is a deep audience skepticism toward all official views, Radio Free Europe's quasi-private sponsorship gives it a great credibility edge.

"The programs of the B.B.C. or the Voice of America are welcome but they bear an official stamp," said Karel Jezdinsky, one of the most popular and politically influential commentators of Radio Prague when that station found its long-muffled voice for a few glorious months in 1968. "Their news programs are limited to news from a national point of view. The rest are nonpolitical programs of no basic interest to the listener. They can get some nonpolitical news on life in

continued

26 MAR 1972

STATINTL

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# Why Not Tell The Truth?

By C. L. SULZBERGER

One curious aspect of the new isolationist mood among so many Americans is their hostility toward the relatively modest U.S. propaganda apparatus. Ever since it was quite properly disclosed that some funds supporting Radio Free Europe came from the C.I.A., there have been mounting signs of distaste for the very idea of explaining America's viewpoint to citizens of countries where there is no freedom of expression.

Even so worldly a man as Senator Fulbright opposes the idea of rearranging R.F.E. finances on a new basis to secure its continued operations. Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the U.S.S.R. in seventeen of its many languages, has increasing difficulty in supporting itself. The Voice of America, representing the U.S. Information Agency, faces a thin budget.

These services differ in all aspects save for money trouble. V.O.A. is official and global in concept. Radio Liberty focuses on the Soviet Union's many republics and has transmitters in Lampertheim, West Germany, as well as Spain and Taiwan. R.F.E. has

Sending ideas abroad is not an unwholesome enterprise. Other Western nations engage in similar operations but meet with jamming interference from Soviet and other Communist stations as "indirect imperialist subversion."

During Khrushchev's regime, the Soviet Union ceased jamming but since his downfall this has been intermittently resumed. People caught listening to blacklisted stations are subject to punishment and Moscow stubbornly campaigns to stifle foreign transmitters.

This diplomatic campaign emphasizes West Germany, which is told that harboring stations like Radio Liberty and R.F.E. is a hostile act not consonant with Chancellor Brandt's efforts to achieve détente. It seeks to exploit American public distaste for propaganda, labeling it variously as C.I.A. "agitation" and "Zionist."

The intensity of these endeavors seems to confirm the broadcasts' effectiveness. More than half the adults of Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria listen to R.F.E. Almost 30 million radios in the U.S.S.R. are capable of receiving Radio Liberty's shortwave broadcasts.

It is difficult to understand what is wrong with using modern communications to tell people what is going on—people whose own governments prefer to hide or distort the truth. There can never be international understanding without more open exchange of ideas other than those permitted by totalitarian systems.

Moreover, Americans who pretend embarrassment because we are unabashedly engaged in the propaganda business should realize that the transmitters objected to by Moscow and its allies are in fact imitated by them and their imitative broadcasts are 100 per cent official and biased in presentation of news, often deliberately seeking to stir up trouble.

Thus Radio Prague specializes in Italian and Spanish programs designed to create unrest among foreign workers in Common Market countries. The U.S.S.R., for its part, has added a copy of R.F.E. to Radio Moscow's regular setup. This is the allegedly nonofficial and independent radio Peace and Progress. If that is an independent enterprise, it is the only one in the Soviet system.

Moreover, its transmissions tend to be far more hostile and unrestrained than those of Radio Moscow itself—especially broadcasts in Chinese, aimed at mainland China, and in Indian languages, which provoked a protest from the New Delhi Government last year. Moscow answered with the excuse that it had no "influence" over the "independent" station.

transmitters in Holzkirchen and Biblis, West Germany, and in Portugal, aiming at Russia's East European allies.

It was always ridiculous to pretend that Radio Liberty and R.F.E. had no connection with U.S. Government agencies. Yet, while it was wise to sever links with the C.I.A., it would be folly to terminate operations of these semiprivate propaganda enterprises. After all, like the V.O.A., they explain what is happening in the United States and the world to populations subjected to the opaque and controlling apparatus of totalitarian regimes.

Surely Western nations, including the U.S.A., have at least as much right to tell their story to muffled populations as Communist stations have to paint their own picture in the free air and press of the democratic world. It is folly for any Americans to have an inferiority complex about telling things as they are.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

*'There can never be international understanding without more open exchange of ideas other than those permitted by totalitarian systems.'*

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Letter from Moscow

# Keep Radio Liberty Alive

**By Gherman Smirnovsky**

This is excerpted from a letter provided by Soviet sources who identified the author as Gherman Smirnovsky, a Moscow intellectual and physicist not previously linked with the Soviet dissent movement. In this open letter to Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D., Ark.), who seeks to cut off congressional funding of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, Smirnovsky stresses Radio Liberty because R. F. E. broadcasts only to Eastern Europe, not the U. S. S. R.

MOSCOW—The city sleeps. At least it seems so to militiamen who patrol the frosty capital. Their hobnailed knee boots clatter on the cobblestones above the noise of the snowstorm...

..The night has come, but what is this? In Moscow apartments, rural huts, in the steppes of Central Asia, in the Siberian taiga, a voice is heard, a human voice speaking in Russian, which differs so much from the official ravings in the Soviet language:..

"Radio Liberty speaking."

## Reaches Every Corner

..It reaches every remote corner of the country and finds a response in the heart of every honest man in Russia. Superpowerful jamming, for which taxpayers pay one million rubles a year, will be no help. Pushy neighbors — K. G. B. agents who expose listeners to the Western stations [God knows how much our people pay to feed this bunch of informers]—also will be no help, nor will slanderous articles in the official press...

..Communism, with its antihuman face, is helpless against the free word...

..The West addressed the Russian people by radio for the first time on the day of the German invasion in 1941. Churchill's address was broadcast by the B. B. C. in Russian. In 1948, they began to beam regular programs of the Voice of America and the B. B. C. to the U. S. S. R....

Witnesses remember the horrible times of the Stalin era, and the impression made by Western radio programs was like the blast of an atomic bomb. It was a shock to the people and they did not trust their ears. At last: Thru so many years of total Communist



Sen. Fulbright

tyranny, the people heard a human word. The people learned what really was happening in the world and in their own country...

.. "Several days before the death of the dictator [Josef Stalin] on March 1, 1953, a new radio station, "Liberation," came on the air. It immediately gained wide popularity in our country altho the tone of the broadcasts did seem to some to be rather sharp in relation to the regime...

## Quiet Justified

..But it was quite justified by the most horrible model of Communism—the Soviet autocracy. Later, in the course of the thaw, this tone moderated. The station to some extent and it was renamed Radio Liberty...

..Jamming started immediately after the station began its work... it continued until 1956, when it stopped in the summer for several months. But after suppression of the Hungarian revolution, jamming resumed until 1963...

..In that year, Khrushchev decided to leave Western government radio stations alone. But Khrushchev's "amnesty" did not extend to Radio Liberty.

..Nevertheless it was a victory, tho not a complete one. Free, independent, objective information triumphed over the narrow ideological propaganda of Communism...

..From 1963 until the resumption of jamming after the occupation of Czechoslovakia on Aug. 21, 1968, a close spiritual tie was established between the peoples of Russia and the free West. Western radio stations played an extraordinary role in that process.

..The people learned all that had been hidden from them by the Kremlin ruler: The cruel court reprisals against Sinyavsky and Daniel, and later against Ginzburg and Galanskoy.

## They Could Not

..No matter how party propagandists tried to blacken these people, they could not.

Truthful information about the lawlessness of the regime was broadcast over the radio... and influenced samizdat [dissident materials, circulated clandestinely], which was becoming stronger at the time.

The agitation to make things public, for civil rights, would have had much less chance of appearing if this publicity had existed only in the closed circle of political dissenters, but with the aid of Western broadcasts, the facts of violations of human rights in the U. S. S. R. were reported to the whole country and the whole world.

The biggest influence in this has been that of Radio Liberty.

But our country does not need only the naked facts. After the Bolshevik seizure of power, culture completely disappeared in the country. Russia has been cut off from the best literary works of its own people and in the U. S. S. R. and in the West.

Continued

25 MAR 1972

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601

STATINTL

*Clayton Fritchey*

## Hangovers of the Cold War

IN THE LIGHT of Mr. Nixon's trip to Peking, and his coming one to Moscow, undertaken to relax cold war tensions, advance détente and promote co-existence and co-operation with the Communist world, it might be thought that the U.S. government was on the point of kicking its long addiction to anti-Communist crusades at home and abroad.

Easier said than done. Old habits are hard to break, even when they no longer seem appropriate to a nation's new mode. A few weeks ago, for instance, there was an argument in Congress over giving additional money to that relic of the McCarthy era, the House Un-American Activities Committee. The committee hasn't caught a Communist in 20 years, if ever, but no matter. It's now called the House Internal Security Committee, and it has just been given \$525,000 more to waste.

THIS IS tip money, however, compared to the \$33 million a year in tax funds that the President and Congress want to give another hangover of the Cold War—Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which for many years were presuma-

bly financed by private contributions, but actually were secretly subsidized by the CIA with public money.

Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has made a determined but lonely effort to put a stop to this expenditure. He had temporarily succeeded in heading off another appropriation for 1973, but most of his colleagues shied from voting against anything that has an anti-Communist label on it, regardless of how anachronistic it may be.

Both Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) were established over 20 years ago at the peak of the Cold War to beam news and propaganda into Russia and its Eastern European satellites. The stations operated under the camouflage of private sponsorship but, unbeknown to the American public, were financed by the CIA at a cost of about \$500 million over the years.

Backers of the stations contend their broadcasts are now "objective" and no longer dedicated to "roll-backs" or "liberation" or stirring up internal opposition to the Communist governments of Europe. But U.S. citizens are already

being taxed \$41 million a year to enable the Voice of America to provide the world with "objective" news coverage. The Voice, which has 108 transmitters around the globe, broadcasts in 36 languages, devoting 40 per cent of its air time to audiences in Communist countries.

Neither RFE or RL, of course, could get a dime from Congress if they were not primarily engaged in trying to win friends and influence people in the Russian orbit at the expense of the Communist governments. However desirable this may have been some years ago, does it, on balance, serve the best interests of the United States and the Free World at a time described by President Nixon as the "new era of negotiation" rather than "confrontation?"

THE STATIONS have infuriated the Soviets, which may please some Americans, but, as Mr. Nixon prepares for his Moscow trip, should we be engaging in activities which might make it more difficult for the United States to gain its major Russian objectives, such as nuclear disarmament, stabilization of the Middle East and better security arrangements in Eastern Europe?

It shouldn't be hard to imagine what the U.S. frame of mind would be if Russia were to establish Radio Free America in Cuba, and start broadcasting around the clock its view of the world to American listeners. As justification for such an operation, the Soviets no doubt would quote Vice President Agnew's charges that the U.S. press can't be trusted.

In any case, the new U.S.-China communique, signed by Mr. Nixon in Shanghai, pledges the United States to support the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. How, it is asked, can that be squared with further operations of RFE and RL?

Finally, if they are to be continued, why shouldn't they be directed at all the totalitarian nations which are without a free press? Why not Radio Free Peking? Or Radio Free Greece—or Spain or Portugal or Brazil, or Argentina—to name only a few? Sen. Fulbright has the answer. These radios (meaning RFE and RL), he says, "should take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold war relics."

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# Hill Clears Funds For Radio Europe

By Spencer Rich

Washington Post Staff Writer

Funds to continue Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe through June 30 won final congressional approval yesterday as the Senate completed action on an authorizing bill, 65 to 6.

The bill authorizes \$36 million for the two stations, which beam news and comment into Eastern Europe. However, the stations will actually get only \$32 million because a separate bill appropriating funds—contingent upon final enactment of the authorization—carried the smaller amount.

✓ Voting against the authorization were Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), Appropriations Chairman Allen J. Ellender (D-La.), Harold Hughes (D-Iowa), William Proxmire (D-Wis.) and Stuart Symington (D-Mo.).

All Maryland and Virginia senators voted to continue the stations except J. Glenn Beall (R-Md.), who was absent.

✓ Yesterday's action temporarily ended a severe congressional battle over whether the two stations, which up to now have been covertly financed by the Central Intelligence Agency, should be abolished or allowed to go on. But a new fight is almost certain if the administration—as expected—asks Congress to provide authorizations for future years.

Fulbright, Mansfield and others had argued that, while the stations admittedly now are less aggressively "cold war" oriented than in the past, they constitute an expensive, unnecessary irritant to East-West relations, costing as much as the whole U.S. cultural relations program.

The administration backed the House version of the bill, continuing the stations until June 30, 1973, and setting up a commission to study whether they should continue.

Fulbright, arguing that the commission would undoubtedly be shaped so as to recommend continuing the stations, insisted instead that the authorization expire this June 30 and that the State Department be required to justify continuation beyond then. He also favored putting the stations under U.S. Information Agency or State Department control, so that the U.S. diplomatic agencies would be directly responsible for them.

Faced with a total cutoff of funds when House-Senate conferees couldn't agree, the administration yielded and agreed to a continuation to June 30 only, extracting from Fulbright a pledge to consider any request for future funding.

George D. Aiken (R-Vt.), the senior Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, said yesterday that he would do his best to assure a fair hearing for any such request.

25 MAR 1972

IN CONGRESS

## Radio Free Europe Measure Is Passed

STATINTL

The Senate has passed and sent to the White House a bill to keep Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in operation for the next three months.

The Senate vote, 65 to 6, authorizes \$36 million in federal funding for the two stations for the 12 months ending June 30. Most of the money already has been spent under emergency appropriations.

The House earlier this week yielded to the insistence of high-place senators that the stations — which long had been financed secretly by the Central Intelligence Agency — should be openly financed by the government for only one year instead of two.

Doubt about the future of the stations after June 30 was emphasized yesterday by the votes of influential senators, in effect, to shut down the stations immediately by denying them money. Voting against funding even for the next three months were Sens. Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Senate Democratic leader; J. W. Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; and Allen J. Ellender, D-La., chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Other negative votes came from Sens. Harold Hughes of Iowa, William Proxmire of Wisconsin and Stuart Symington of Missouri, all Democrats.

In a months-long campaign to end taxpayer support of the stations, Fulbright called them "relics of the cold war" and a continued thorn in East-West relations.

Some senators have said they want the stations terminated and others want them continued only if they are sup-

ported by other partners of the United States in the North Atlantic community. — AP.  
lence transmitted into American homes.

Sen. John Pastore, D-R.I., issued the call for a "violence index" yesterday after taking four days of testimony on the effect televised violence has on children. The hearings were directed at childrens' programming, but the survey will cover all phases of television. Pastore is chairman of the Senate Communications Subcommittee.

The annual report will be made by the U.S. Surgeon General's Office in HEW in conjunction with the Federal Communications Commission.

Although network executives testified that they are reducing the incidence of violence, especially in childrens' programs, most public and private witnesses told the subcommittee there is too much violence and predicted even more in years to come.

"Ten years from now the networks will have far less control over these things than they do now," said Douglass Cater, a White House adviser in the Johnson administration and a leader in the creation of educational television. Cater said the proliferation of channels through cable television and growth of regular commercial television will make regulation more difficult in the future. —UPI.

ANCHORAGE, ALAS.  
NEWS

MAR 2 4 1972  
M - 11,056  
S - 12,970

## Our views

# Financing the radios

Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is obsessed with the need to modernize America's obsolete cold war foreign policy. There is no doubt that change is necessary in many areas (as President Nixon's dramatic turnabout on China has demonstrated). But Sen. Fulbright's obsession, like many another, has led to some bizarre aberrations.

Consider his determination to close down Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty because they are "relics of the cold war" which the Soviet Union doesn't like.

If Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were, in fact, the blatant propaganda outlets Mr. Fulbright seems to consider them, there might be some foundation for his belief. The senator no doubt recalls that during the Hungarian revolt of 1956 RFE recklessly implied that American aid might be forthcoming for the insurrection. And he was irritated a couple of years ago when long-standing suspicions were confirmed and the Central Intelligence Agency admitted providing most of the money needed to keep the stations going.

But there is every reason to believe that RFE learned its lesson in 1956. Since then, its news broadcasts, beamed to millions of listeners in Eastern Europe (and those of Radio Liberty, which are broadcast to the Soviet Union) have been notable for their objectivity and balance. The Soviet

Union objects to the stations not because what they say is inflammatory but because they provide a much more complete and truthful picture of the world than what is available in the rigidly controlled Communist press.

And regardless of what pique Mr. Fulbright and his colleagues may have felt at the clandestine CIA financing of the stations, that episode, too, is in the past.

The question now ought to be whether it is wise for the United States to invest \$35 million-\$38 million a year in providing an estimated 300 million listeners in Russia and Eastern Europe with a relatively unbiased alternative to the utterly biased, dogmatic party press. We believe it is.

And we hope the wilfully obstructionist, and so far quite successful, tactics of Mr. Fulbright, which could cut off funding for the stations June 30, are replaced by common sense.

# 'Bonn Aides: Close Radio Free Europe

BY ALICE SIEGERT  
[Chief of Bonn Bureau]

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

BONN, March 23 — Eight deputies of Chancellor Willy Brandt's Social Democrat Party asked in a telegram published today that President Nixon close down the Munich-based Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

The legislators said the two anti-Communist stations were a stumbling block to improved East-West relations. They said the stations' existence in West Germany has raised doubts about the Bonn government's sovereignty.

The West German move coincided with passage of a bill by the United States House of Representatives yesterday to extend financing of the stations until June 30.

## Heard in E. Europe

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty beam news and commentaries to listeners in Eastern Europe. The two outlets came into the limelight last year with the disclosure that they were being financed by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Sen. J. William Fulbright [D., Ark.] demanded that their operations be discontinued because they were "relics of the cold war" and barred efforts to achieve detente with the Soviet Union.

The Social Democrats asked Nixon to recommend to Congress that financing of the stations be terminated June 30. They asked his consent that the Bonn government cancel operating rights on that date. Heretofore, operating licenses were renewed automatically on a yearly basis.

## Brandt Gets Request

The deputies addressed a similar request to Brandt, asking that he use his influence to stop the radio activities.

Conrad Ahlers, chief government spokesman, said the issue was being discussed by the West German and American governments.

Radio Free Europe has been broadcasting to Eastern Europe for 21 years. Radio Liberty directs its programs exclusively to listeners in the Soviet Union.

## Russ Voices Heard

Moscow, March 23 [Reuters] —Voices are being raised here for and against the continued operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

The Soviet government's daily newspaper Izvestia this week published one of its frequent attacks on the stations. It denounced them as mainstays of "American anti-Communist propaganda."

An appeal against proposals to close the stations also was being circulated in typescript among a small number of Russians. The author of the appeal was said to be a Muscovite. He asserted: For Russia to lose Radio Liberty "means to lose the little freedom left to us . . . the freedom to get truthful information about our country."

STATINTL

24 MAR 1972

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STATINTL

# Radio Peking an aid to Radio Free Europe?

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY

LONDON, March 17 (By mail)—The recent moves led by Sen. William Fulbright to slice away the U.S. funds that have financed that fountainhead of subversion known as "Radio Free Europe," along with its sinister sister "Radio Liberty," have brought protests from none but the most ardent hate-merchants and Neanderthal cold-war propagandists.

The London Times, seeking to whip up backing for these cold-war instruments, opened its letter columns for opinion on the matter, but only one Briton replied, and he expressed the belief that "the West, and particularly America" had been trying for too long to impose its ideas on the socialist countries.

Otherwise the Times has had to content itself with dredging in and holding up for view some strange fish indeed.

## Defector's letter

One of the smelliest of these is the former "Soviet novelist," Anatoli Kuznetsov, who defected a couple of years ago for monetary rewards from anti-Soviet publishing houses. Periodically, Kuznetsov is dragged forth from his hiding place near London to utter the most absurd statements about "the lack of freedom under socialism." Recently he solemnly proclaimed the authenticity of an anti-Soviet pornographic comic-strip allegedly pro-

duced in the Soviet Union, which turned out to be the fabrication of another "artist" defector.

In a letter to the Times signed by Kuznetsov we find this gem of a paragraph:

"I was working on my novel, 'Crucifixion,' which deals with present-day life in the Soviet Union. By chance I was actually describing an episode in which people are listening, through the din of the jamming, to 'Radio Liberty.' The episode is autobiographical: I, a Soviet writer, like all Soviet intellectuals, had for many years learnt the truth from one source only—foreign broadcasts. They told the truth and gave hope."

The Times also printed a letter from a certain Stefan Korbonski, who represented himself as chairman of "Assembly of Captive European Nations" based in New York. Korbonski also was depressed by the thought of "Radio Free Europe" losing its voice, but he had prospects of hope for "the peoples of Bulgaria, Czech-

oslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania":

## Mao to the rescue

"Surely," he wrote, "it would not kill their striving for independence but, paradoxically, might result in shifting their hopes towards the People's Republic of China, which alone of the great powers shows some interest in East European countries regaining their independence. This interest was demonstrated by several announcements of the Peking Government and, not so long ago, by the vehement condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia by the present Chinese delegation to the United Nations. It is also being demonstrated by Radio Peking broadcasts to East Europe."

So now we have it, from the mouth of the CIA-supported anti-Soviet emigre gangs, the pro-fascists whom the people of Eastern Europe are glad to get rid of: the logical successor of "Radio Free Europe" is seen by them as Radio Peking.

**Around the World****U.S. Radio Stations**

BONN — Chancellor Willy Brandt's government announced that it is conferring with Washington on the future of the American broadcasting stations in Munich, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

The announcement followed a call for the closure of the stations by seven parliamentarians of Brandt's Social Democratic Party, who said the stations' existence raised doubts about West German sovereignty.

STATINTL

## Bonn - Washington radio talks

By the Associated Press

Bonn

Chancellor Willy Brandt's government says it is conferring with Washington on the future of the American broadcast stations in Munich: Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Government spokesman Conrad Ahlers says Bonn recognizes the significance of the U.S.-financed radio stations in providing information to the people in the Soviet bloc. But at the same time it wants to avoid possible harm to the "foreign relations of the federal West German republic."

The problem is that the Soviets take a dim view of the stations — and have said so during recent negotiations over roadblocks to East-West détente in Europe.

Mr. Ahlers was commenting on a call for the closure of the stations made in telegrams to President Nixon and Chancellor Brandt by a group of seven parliamentarians of Mr. Brandt's Social Democratic Party.

The U.S. House of Representatives has voted funds to keep the two stations going through June 30. The bill has been sent to the Senate, where Chairman J. W. Fulbright of the Foreign Relations Committee has been leading a campaign against the two "relics of the cold war."

The telegrams called on Mr. Nixon to halt financing of the stations after June 30 and make their frequencies available to the Cologne-based "Deutsche Welle" station, which they said could just as well provide "realistic reportage" to the Soviet bloc.

At the same time, they said it could not be denied that both radios had abandoned the policy of disseminating "unmistakable anti-Communist propaganda" they had followed during the cold-war days of the early 1950's.

23 MAR 1972

## U.S. radio-broadcast funding

STATINTL

# East-bloc listeners criticize

By Paul Wohl

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

Sen. J. W. Fulbright's efforts to block the funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the two Munich-based American radio stations, have severely shocked many people in Russia and Eastern Europe.

A recent visitor from Poland reports that the imminent closing of "Warsaw Four," as Poles call Radio Free Europe, is the main subject of political discussions in Warsaw's cafes.

Not even Communist dissenters want the West to revert to cold-war politics. But every indication of Western determination to defend its rights and values is applauded in the East.

### Castro vs. Battista

This writer remembers how, during the Cuban crisis, educated East Europeans expressed their satisfaction over America's stand.

These people preferred Fidel Castro to Battista and Communist to capitalist ways. But they were weary of Russian heavyhandedness. They did not want to be compressed into a monolith.

Deep in their thoughts was the old fear of the Russian steamroller, ever ready to flatten any kind of nonconformism.

As long as the West, and especially America, stood firm, the steamroller, they felt, was stalled.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia really shook most East Europeans, including party members. The trauma still lingers.

This may explain why politically alert East Europeans reacted bitterly to the news that Radio Free Europe is likely to be closed down.

### Uncomplimentary names

In Czechoslovakia, Mr. Fulbright has been referred to as "Fulbricht" — which brings to memory the name of East Germany's Walter Ulbricht. Poles use a play on words which makes Mr. Fulbright's name sound like a vulgar Polish epithet. To emphasize how much the Senator's policy favors the not overly popular Russians, his name also is russified into Fulbraitov.

The Soviets, on the other hand, are satisfied. A 225-page book by the Arkansas Democrat on "The Arrogance of Power" was brought out in Russian in 1967. Toward the end of last year the Moscow publishing house "International Relations" published a 271-page Fulbright biography by V. B.

Vorontsov under the title "The Senator from Arkansas." in the West and that liberty does not exist at all in the East.

Privately the Communist leaders are elated. According to a report from dissenting Communists, a recent ideological conference in Moscow devoted to fighting anti-communism concluded: "We do not have to do anything right now. Leave it all to Fulbright." One suggestion is an invocation of the last of the three rallying slogans of the French Revolution — Liberty, Equality, Fraternity — by changing the name of Radio Liberty to "Radio Brotherhood."

Broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, on the other hand, might sound less condescending if they went under the name of "Radio West" or "Inter-Europe Radio."

### Grains of truth

While there can be no doubt that most East Europeans and Soviet dissenters, including many rank and file Communists, are disappointed, there is nevertheless more than a grain of truth in Senator Fulbright's contention that the two stations are popularly identified with some of the grimmest phases of the cold war.

Actually they have long ceased to be cold-war propaganda outlets and have become information media of a special kind which keep their walled-up audiences alert.

The fact is that they are not official government stations. Though under Washington's general political supervision, they have enough leeway to be flexible and enough autonomy to call a spade a spade. And this fact enhances their plausibility.

Some observers say much of the cold-war sting would be removed if the two stations were given less innocuous names. Radio Liberty already is an improvement over its original name, "Radio Liberation."

Latvian born Arsene Eglis, who has long been connected with Radio Liberty, suggests combining the two stations under the name of "Radio West."

### Merger possibility

A merger of the two stations, of their research staffs and of their broadcasting facilities, would mean substantial savings. Yet it is doubtful whether the two can be combined.

Radio Free Europe appeals to East European audiences, is manned by seasoned specialists for the various East European countries, and broadcasts in East European languages.

Radio Liberty employs as consultants former Soviet citizens, especially from national minorities. Its broadcasts are in Russian and in Soviet minority languages.

If Radio Liberty is to be maintained, as most Americans with firsthand knowledge of Soviet and East European conditions hope, there is good reason to urge that its name be changed to indicate that the West has effectively abandoned a cold-war approach. The present name—in many East European eyes—somewhat arrogantly implies that there is complete political liberty



STATINTL

GRANDVIEW, MO.  
JACKSON ADVOCATE  
MAR 23 1972  
WEEKLY - 7,353

## Frankly Speaking



By

**THOMAS F. EAGLETON**  
U.S. Senator—Missouri

The Congress of the United States is an oft-misunderstood institution. The recent workings of a House-Senate Conference Committee on legislation to decide the fate of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have certainly not made Congress any easier to understand.

The Conference Committee was deadlocked on the question of how long to fund both radio networks. The House side wanted to provide funding for a two-year period and the Senate insisted on approving funding only through this fiscal year — which ends June 30. Neither side was willing to compromise.

The Senate conferees showed little inclination to yield to the House because of the conviction of some that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are tolls of the Cold War and now strain our relations with the Soviet Union.

I disagree with this assessment. I believe it is important for those living in totalitarian societies to hear uncensored news reports and other programs characteristic of a free and open society.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have, over the years, built up large followings, the former in Eastern Europe and the latter

These broadcasts in most cases represent the only link the people of these nations have, not just with the free world, but also with the events occurring within their own countries. We have an obligation to maintain this link.

Of course Congress also has an obligation to give funding requests for all federal programs careful scrutiny.

In the past no specific funding action for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty was required on the part of Congress. Both networks then were run by the Central Intelligence Agency from funds in the CIA budget, a fact which surprised and shocked a large segment of the public when it was revealed last year.

Now both radio networks are under the control of the State Department — a much more proper arrangement, I think. We do not need a covert intelligence agency to sell America to the community world. America can sell itself openly, without embarrassment. We have nothing to hide . . . just a great deal to offer.

Last week, after much wrangling, the Conference Committee finally agreed to fund the two networks through this fiscal year and to require annual appropriations for their operation in the future.

The reason for this requirement was the Committee's belief that these radio stations, like all other federal programs, should be justified to Congress on the basis of each year's performance. Of course we should demand continued excellence from our main voices to the community world.

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MEMPHIS, TENN.

COMMERCIAL APPEAL

MAR 23 1972

M - 219,462

S - 268,338

## House Vote Extends Life Of Freedom Radios Through June 30

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM  
From The Commercial Appeal  
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 22.— A bill that would continue Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in operation through June 30 was approved by the House Wednesday by a voice vote.

Senate leaders scheduled the measure for consideration Friday and passage in that chamber is regarded as certain. It would authorize 35 million dollars to finance the stations.

Chairman Thomas E. Morgan (D-Pa.) of the House Foreign Affairs Committee told the House the three-months extension was the most he could extract from Senate conferees.

Chairman J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee opposes continuing the stations, but has agreed that his committee later this year will consider legislation continuing them for a longer period.

The two stations, based in Munich, Germany, were established after World War II, and have been operated and until recently secretly financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. Radio Free Europe broadcasts to the people of Soviet-block countries in Eastern Europe. Radio Liberty beams its broadcasts to the people of the Soviet Union.

Fulbright has called the stations unnecessary, expensive "remnants of the Cold War" that irritate efforts to reach a detente with the USSR. However, in testimony this week, officials of the United States In-

formation Agency, which operates the Voice of America, have warmly praised the work of RFE and RL and, while opposing consolidation of the stations with VOA, have urged that they be continued.

As of now, no legislation to continue RFE and RL beyond June 30 is pending in Congress, and the administration has not yet come forward with a proposal.

Earlier the administration supported a two-year financing extension the House had approved, but which House conferees were forced to abandon in favor of the three-month extension in the face of what Morgan called the "total intransigence" of some senators.

23 MAR 1972

STATINTL

### House Votes Stopgap Funds For U.S. Radio in Europe

WASHINGTON, March 22 (Reuters)—The House passed compromise legislation today providing funds for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty until June 30.

The Senate is expected to complete Congressional action on the bill tomorrow.

The funding for the United States radio stations, which broadcast from West Germany to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, expired on Feb. 22.

The original House proposal, backed by the Nixon Administration, would have provided funds for the stations until the middle of next year.

Fresh funds were delayed in the Senate in a fight led by Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who described the stations as relics of the cold war.

# Allied backers plead for Radio Free Europe

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Munich, Germany

Virtually every major newspaper in Western Europe, including Die Welt of Hamburg, Le Monde of Paris, Switzerland's Neue Zuercher Zeitung, and the Times of London, editorially urges the retention of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Radio Liberty beams news and comment almost around the clock to the Soviet Union. RFE does the same to the other nations of the Soviet bloc. Together the stations, which were founded in the early 1950's and are based here in Munich, broadcast in more than 20 languages.

Thousands of East bloc listeners have written to Munich to say that the two radios represent the letter writers' only source of unbiased information on developments within their own countries.

The government of Chancellor Willy Brandt continues to voice support for the stations, despite Communist demands that the two stations be expelled from West German soil.

Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D) of Arkansas, however, describes the radio stations, which until recently were financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), as "relics of the cold war," and urges their shut-down.

Senator Fulbright has blocked further financing of the stations, which employ more than 2,000 people, including many East bloc émigrés, beyond June 30, while Congress debates their future.

"Why," demanded a European observer, "should the radios be shut down, simply because they irritate the Soviets? Have the Russians stopped building up their military power, because this alarms us?"

A West European advisory committee of RFE, headed by former NATO Secretary-General Dirk Stikker, now is exploring whether Europeans governments might help finance the stations.

Hundreds of interviews conducted over the years by Western analysts confirm that ordinary Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Bulgarians, and Soviet citizens listen to RFE and Radio Liberty more often and with greater trust, than to the Voice of America

(VOA), Deutsche Welle, Radio Paris, Radio Vatican, and other official stations. RFE alone has an estimated audience of 55 million.

Anatoli Kuznetsov, a Russian writer who fled to Britain, wrote to the London Times that closing down the two stations would fulfill one of the most ardent wishes of the KGB, the intelligence organ of the Soviet Government.

He, like other Soviet intellectuals, Mr. Kuznetsov wrote, depended on foreign radio stations for truthful reporting that "gave hope."

"VOA, Deutsche Welle, even the BBC," declared an analyst, "aim at promoting the image of their country of origin."

## Policy changed

He meant that VOA expresses an official American point of view. Deutsche Welle does the same for the West German Government; and even the BBC, the analyst said, reflects a British outlook.

"RFE, on the other hand, takes an active interest in East European countries and peoples — identifies with their aspirations. 'Where Radio Free Europe is unrivaled,' the expert went on, 'is in detailed reporting on events within Eastern Europe.'"

Station officials agree that in the early 1950's when U.S. State Department policy under John Foster Dulles was keyed to a Communist "rollback," the two stations stressed a cold-war line.

Then came the abortive Hungarian revolt, which, as one official put it, "taught the West that communism could not be rolled back by words alone."

Since then the tone of the two radios has evolved, until today the thrust of their programming is objective reporting of political, economic, cultural, and athletic events behind the iron curtain. Library of Congress studies say of Radio Liberty, for instance, that it is neither "a cold-war operation nor is its staff a group of cold warriors."

The Soviet Government, analysts report, makes it harder for Soviet citizens to hear Radio Liberty by jamming its broadcasts. RFE programs are jammed in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Poland, but not in Hungary or Romania.

# Senators flay CIA use of

By TIM WHEELER

WASHINGTON, March 18 — "Radio Free Europe" extorts free poster space on buses and subways across the nation to plead for the nickels and dimes of school children to keep alive its broadcasts to socialist countries.

But Senators J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark) and Clifford Case (R-NJ), in speeches in Congress, revealed that "Radio Free Europe" and its partner, "Radio Liberty," are wholly owned subsidiaries of the Central Intelligence Agency, which wallowed in \$480 million in taxpayer appropriations in the past 20 years.

Senator Case introduced legislation to prohibit the CIA from continuing its secret funding of RFE and RL and to require that all future U.S. appropriations for the networks be a matter of public record.

Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, went further. He proposed outright liquidation of the stations, and cited President Nixon's communique from Peking extolling "non-interference" in the internal affairs of other nations. He wryly noted that Nixon shuns the idea of a "Radio Free China."

RFE and RL, said Fulbright, are "based on nothing more than an arrogant belief that people around the world will act like we want them to act if we only tell them how."

## One-year fund voted

However, Fulbright, Case and others yielded this week to the cold warriors and agreed to a one-year U.S. appropriation of \$36 million for RFE and RL — the first time since 1950 that the U.S. appropriation for these stations has been a matter of public record. RFE and RL had asked for a two-year appropriation.

"They will have to come back next year," said an aide to Fulbright. "They are going to have to erase some doubts before these programs are going to be re-

# Radio Free Europe

newed. It is incomprehensible how the U.S. could give away \$480 million over a 20-year period for these radio stations."

Fulbright inserted in the Congressional Record separate reports on the two stations written by Joseph C. Whelan and James Robert Price, anti-Soviet experts on the payroll of the Library of Congress. The reports sing praises to the two stations, but biographies of the two authors appended to the reports indicate why: both are CIA agents. Whelan, the report on RL declares, was "Briefly employed" by the CIA in 1951. Price, author of the report on RFE "was employed by the CIA" from 1950-1957.

## 'Samizdat' operation

Whelan defends "Radio Liberty" as the main instrument for promoting "liberalization" in the Soviet Union. His booklength report dwells for several chapters on "Samizdat," the anti-socialist writings of disgruntled Soviet "liberals" which are circulated in manuscript form because their authors are unable to find publishers.

Whelan's report describes Radio Liberty as "the principal source for disseminating 'samizdat' throughout the Soviet Union."

In a chapter titled "Main Depository of Samizdat," Whelan declares, "For RL samizdat is the beginning of a harvest after years of labor sowing the seeds of democracy in the Soviet Union."

"RL has the largest deposit of samizdat in the world to draw upon for its programming, and its archives are growing daily. What RL does is magnify the audience from what would ordinarily be a small network to embrace a national constituency."

"In so doing, RL has become a prime source for uniting the disparate elements of samizdat producers. Thus, by becoming a prime transmitter of samizdat, RL has contributed substantially to this self generating phenomenon within the Soviet Union."

## Interventions cited

The "abortive" rebellion in East Berlin in 1953, Price declared, caused RFE "to develop a technique of 'chipping away' at Communist power structures. Frontal attacks against the Communist regimes were downgraded in favor of progress designed to encourage long range and subtle attitudinal changes among the listeners until objective conditions favoring a radical change are established."

He explains how RL used this technique to promote and guide the anti-socialist crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Instead of promoting open, armed counter-revolution, RFE urged ideological and political sabotage from within.

Whelan confirms that this tactic was employed by RL as well.

"Guidances were planned and formulated as the crisis gathered momentum," he declared. "Monthly and daily guidelines provided continuing ad hoc guidance, with caution the key word. Contingency plans for programming were made on July 30, well in advance of the crisis of Aug. 21, the day of invasion."

## Adopted socialist mask

Whelan reports that Radio Liberty assumed the guise of a partisan of socialism "with a human face," and that it bemoaned the intervention of the Warsaw Pact in Czechoslovakia as a "loss of moral, ethical and practical positions for the Soviet Union . . . the damage to the cause of socialism and of liberalization at home; and the irreparable split in the world Communist movement."

Price reveals that RFE has a full time staff of 1,611, of whom 211 are U.S. citizens and the remainder anti-Communist emigres. The costs of the station in 1971 were \$22,366,876.

Both RFE and RL, Price declared, "had hitherto ostensibly been supported by private funds but had actually been largely funded by the Central Intelligence Agency."

"Although the author of this report did not interview officials of the CIA it is a safe assumption that contact between the agency and Free Europe Inc. was probably a major function of the Free Europe, Inc. corporate headquarters," Price concludes. The officials in charge of RFE the report states: are Stewart S. Cort, chairman of the Bethlehem Corp., and retired General Lucius D. Clay.

# Fulbright: Stance on Propaganda

By Dorothy McCardle

Sen. J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, explained to Fulbright-Hays scholars yesterday why he is critical of such propaganda agencies as the United States Information Agency, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

"These programs keep alive the cold war," Fulbright told scholars at a lunch at the Kennedy Center on the first day of a three-day conference here.

"These programs are not presented to promote understanding or compassion."

Fulbright said that he has no objection to a modest information program which is "not based on the assumption of infallibility on our part."

He praised the Fulbright-Hays exchange-of-scholars program which he helped start 25 years ago as a "general cultural exchange and not propaganda."

He said that the 140,000 Fulbright-Hays scholars educated in this country for short and long terms in the past 25 years have underscored the better understanding for which the United Nations stands. Many of these scholars have gone on to become the diplomatic, political, scientific and business leaders of their countries, he said.

The program had a \$40 million budget last year, which will have to be upped to \$53 million for next year.

"We don't know if the United States can go up to \$53 million for this program," he said. "We need some kind of cooperative effort on this."

"But this program is so important because it leads to the civilizing of our people so they don't engage in periodic blood-letting. A successful program of this kind is the best possible way to educate people away from their biases and prejudices."

The first country to sign up for the Fulbright program in 1949 was mainland China, which later withdrew, he said. After that, Na-

tionalist China joined the program.

"We don't know what will happen now," said Fulbright.

Fulbright was in a hurry to get back to Capitol Hill where, he said, he would be voting for the Equal Rights

Amendment for women."

The scholars arriving yesterday included 57 men and seven women from 28 foreign countries.

Mrs. William J. Rogers, wife of the Secretary of State, Mrs. Walter Washington, wife of the Mayor, and

Mrs. Hugh Scott, wife of the minority leader of the Senate, received the scholars at a morning coffee at Meridian House. Their morning speaker, Hugh Sidey, of Time-Life, spoke on the conference topic, "The American Presidency."

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## **Mirror of opinion**

### **No yielding**

Reputedly Radio Liberty is providing an alternative free radio program for Russian listeners, and has become, with a large audience, a channel for broadcasting back to Russia what the dissident Russian writers and intellectuals are prevented from publishing in their country. To silence those stations would confirm and condone the suppression of free speech in Russia and the rest of the Soviet bloc. No wonder the Soviet leaders are using such diplomatic levers as they have to hand to bring this about. . . .

There should be no yielding. For if, as a matter of diplomatic tactics or supposed principle, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are to be stopped, then the BBC's external services, it might be argued, should be muzzled too. In any event, the BBC services, excellent and important as they are, need to be augmented by broadcasts such as those put out by Radio Free Europe. Similarly, the Voice of America broadcasts are a more distant link with the outside world, whereas Radio Free Europe has been able to establish a more informal relation with an eager audience using medium wavelengths. Have the American congressmen really taken these factors into account?—  
The Guardian (England)

*Provides Red World with Factual, Balanced View*

# Information Agency Fights for U.S. Image

WASHINGTON — (AP) — While Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe fight for survival in Congress, this country's third and largest propaganda agency is alive and busy, selling the American Way of Life from 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue and a half a dozen other Washington buildings.

The U.S. Information Agency is, in fact, so busy that in the days of federal belt-tightening, it is asking Congress for more money, not less.

USIA wants \$198 million for fiscal 1973, a \$2 million increase, to continue cranking out a stream of books, magazines, pamphlets, films, radio broadcasts, TV programs and to maintain outposts in such remote spots as Luluabourg in the Republic of Zaire and Maseruin Lesotho.

THE MILLIONS of words and pictures flowing daily through USIA's printers and transmitters carry one continuous message, chiefly to Iron Curtain countries:

No matter how turbulent American society may seem because of riots, assassinations, plots and bombings, life in the United States is better than anywhere else.

Item: Although USIA reported every known detail of last fall's Attica prison uprising during which 40 convicts and hostages died, it managed in the course of a special series over Voice of America to convey the impression that life here is better even in prison.

For example, the VOA found a California professor who said Americans invented modern incarceration which he describes as just locking people up and not locking them up and beating on them, too.

CITING a general easing of world tensions, some in Congress argue that hard-sell propaganda no longer is necessary, and USIA should be abolished.

One who does not in USIA's chunky boyish-looking director, Frank Shakespeare Jr., 45, who next week must go before a skeptical Senate Foreign Relations Committee to defend his budget requests.

"A major world power, which we are in this moment in history, must have a mechanism by which it attempts to communicate what it stands for to people throughout the world," the ex-television executive said.

In past years, USIA has had little trouble obtaining its budget requests from Congress because the law required it to appear only before generally sympathetic appropriations committees.

UNDER A RECENT legislative reorganization act, however, USIA must appear for the first time before Foreign Relations, headed by Sen. J. W. Fulbright.

USIA officials are understandably nervous. The Arkansas Democrat has just won the first round in a battle with the administration that could end government financing for Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe which have been beaming propaganda to the Soviet Union and its East European satellites since the peak of the Cold War.

"These radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of Cold War relics," said Fulbright, who contends U.S. propaganda acts as an irritant, delaying arrival of Nixon's "era of negotiation instead of confrontation."

FULBRIGHT WAS out of town and unavailable for comment. But an aide, saying the committee was approaching the hearings with an open mind, also said the senator could be expected to remain consistent with his stated desire to see a lowering of the U.S. profile abroad.

The effort to scuttle the two radio stations began last year with disclosures in the Senate that they were being supported secretly by the Central Intelligence Agency.

For years there have been rumors USIA, too, is linked with CIA.

Questioned by Fulbright on possible links with CIA at a 1970 hearing, a USIA officer said any comment would have to come "in executive session from appropriate other officials."

EVEN PRIVATELY, USIA officials are unanimous in denying any link with the CIA. "Look," commented one young officer, "the CIA is the best run agency in town. If they ran us we wouldn't be so fouled up."

While there is some talk on Capitol Hill of doing away with USIA entirely, serious debate centers on the agency's size. Its 9,881 employees are more, according to a former USIA official, than those employed full-time on propaganda by all other nations combined. Its role in U.S. foreign policy, and the tone and quality of its product will also be questioned.

"USIA has been a puzzle to policy makers ever since it began back in World War II," said one 28-year-old employee. "Hell, it's had half a dozen different names."

"EVERYTHING this agency does is based on the idea we've got something the Zambians want. Well, maybe they don't want it."

A veteran USIA employee who thinks the agency is too big said, "Look at this, we have a guy in Lesotho. I don't even know what they do there. But I do know that whatever they do in Lesotho, there is no way it can become important in world affairs."

The most talked of alternative to abolishing USIA is returning it to the State Department where most of its programs were lodged from 1946 to 1953.

State, indeed, would probably like to have control over the agency, now legally bound only to listen to the State's policy guidance.

BUT SHAKESPEARE has pushed hard to give USIA a higher position in the policy pecking order, specifically to get it back on the National Security Council from which President Nixon excluded it three years ago in a streamlining effort.

"If you are going to effectively promulgate a program on a worldwide basis it is necessary to have the deepest possible understanding of the nuances," Shakespeare in an interview said.

Because Shakespeare was and is an outspoken anti-Communist, there was open speculation in Washington that USIA would speak more stridently after he took over. The official line, however, has not grown perceptibly harder.

"Mr. Shakespeare is as firmly anti-Communist as he ever was," said one top-ranking agency official. "But I think he's more subtle than when he first came here. That's because he has traveled and has a better understanding of world affairs. It was inevitable."

SHAKESPEARE ALSO went a long way toward improving strained agency morale by encouraging young officers to form a grievance committee which can see him at a moment's notice. The consequence of that: A dearth of serious grievances.

As for the agency's products, Bruce Herschensohn, head of the film service said: "We are trying to build a climate of respect for the United States and a climate of respect for

continued



Communist countries and unless a film serves one of these purposes USIA doesn't use it."

Under Herschensohn, the agency has turned out films on Vice President Agnew, the "Silent Majority," and Honor America Day. It spent \$250,000 on a Vietnam war documentary so blatantly one-sided that only three of USIA's 106 posts would accept it.

AT THE SAME time, however, the agency has produced three films in the past three years that have either won or been nominated for an Academy Award. A documentary on the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia won an Oscar. The other two dealt with life in this country.

The agency's magazine section continues to publish its flagship periodical, "Problems of Communism." But it also produces, along with dozens of other pamphlets and magazines, a slick-covered Russian language number called "America Illustrated." A recent edition was devoted to dissent in the United States and quoted almost every notable from one end of the political spectrum to the other.

The unspoken message was that the United States is an open society that tolerates dissent.

**MOST OBJECTIVE** of USIA's divisions is the Voice of America which uses 109 transmitters to broadcast straight, factual news, plus music, features and generally noncommittal commentaries in 35 languages.

Although VOA personnel consider themselves professional newsmen and take great glee in ignoring policy directives, the division gets an occasional nudge.

During Nixon's China visit, according to one VOA officer, writers and reporters got swept away in the "euphoria" and had to be reminded to emphasize some of the negative aspects of Chinese life.



SEN. FULBRIGHT

## RADIO FREE EUROPE REPRIEVED

By RICHARD BEESTON  
in Washington

**RADIO FREE EUROPE** and its sister station Radio Liberty, which are threatened with closure, have won a short new lease of life from Congress and the prospect of longer-term Government financial backing.

At the same time the arch enemy of the two stations, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator William Fulbright, has shown signs of softening his opposition.

Senator Fulbright originally called for an end to the two stations which he called "relics of the Cold War" and his opposition caused a deadlock between the Senate and the House of Representatives over the question of further financial aid.

A conference of representatives of both House of Representatives and the Senate has now reached a compromise to continue financial support until the end of June. Before that date it will hold meetings to discuss the question of providing government aid after June 30 on a more permanent basis.

This agreement followed a personal appeal to Congress last week by President Nixon who stated that he was "deeply concerned about the imminent prospect that they may be compelled to shut down."

"With the support of the American Government and people, these two unique voices of freedom have for many years been a vital source of uncensored news and commentary for tens of millions of people in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union," he said.

### Financed by CIA

Sen. Fulbright said originally that a Bill for another year's financing of the stations would have to be passed "over his dead body."

Since then, 65 of the 100 American senators have co-sponsored a resolution to keep the stations going.

These include nine out of 16 members of Sen. Fulbright's own Foreign Relations Committee.

Sen. Fulbright has now said that if some Western European countries would be prepared to make a contribution to the support of the stations most of his doubts would be removed.

The two stations broadcast to Eastern European countries and Russia and in past years were largely financed by the American spy network, the Central Intelligence Agency.

When the CIA support ended it was replaced on an annual basis by a direct Government grant authorised by Congress.

STATINTL

20 MAR 1972

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**LETTERS**

STATINTL

**Radio Free Europe**

I would like to emphasize that the liquidation of Radio Free Europe (INTERNATIONAL, March 6), would be interpreted by the peoples of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania as final recognition by the United States of the permanency of the Soviet rule in East Europe. Surely it would not kill their striving for independence but, paradoxically, might result in shifting their hopes toward the People's Republic of China, which alone of the great powers shows some interest in East European countries regaining their independence.

STEFAN KORBONSKI  
Chairman

Assembly of Captive European Nations  
New York, N.Y.

■ The fact that Sen. William Fulbright, so often portrayed as a defender of individual liberties, could "liquidate" Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty is almost totally unbelievable. If these stations provide Eastern Europe with its only reception of objective news they should be continued regardless of who is funding them. At least, the people should have the opportunity to hear something other than a censored Communist press.

The initials CIA may often be associated with political intrigue, but in light of the favorable reports given to RFE and Radio Liberty by various sources both in and outside the Communist bloc, the good senator has definitely aimed his sights at the wrong target.

JOSEPH BERTOLLO III  
Hawthorne, N.J.

■ Senator Fulbright is one of the few politicians I admire because of his ability to see things as they really are. Radio Free Europe belongs in the museum of cold-war relics.

As an ex-Czechoslovakian, I would like to inform your American readers what Czech people think about RFE. Today only a very few people listen to RFE because there has been a good deal of misinformation based on anti-Communist propaganda. Strangely enough, people feel there is not too much difference between propaganda from any source, and RFE definitely has done damage to listeners' morale and faith. As a source of objective information, RFE is today considered as reliable as Radio Moscow.

MILAN REZABEK  
Vancouver, B.C.

18 MAR 1972

LETTERS TO THE TIMES

# U.S. Can't Afford to Let Radio Free Europe Die

I would like to reinforce the statements you made in an editorial (Feb. 24) on Radio Free Europe. I am very familiar with that organization as in 1963 I took a two-year leave of absence from my company to work in Munich as deputy to the director of RFE and later extended the leave two more years because of the tremendous value of what they are doing.

I am deeply shocked by the attempt of Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) to kill both RFE and Radio Liberty. They are indeed, as he says, "relics of the cold war" but this implies that other relics of the cold war—particularly the denial of basic

spective on (a) what is happening in their own country, (b) what is happening in the rest of the world.

The statement made so often that the Voice of America and the BBC can give them news of the world is true. No other group, however, can interpret internal bloc developments as quickly and responsibly as can RFE. They peg the lies, distortions and party fulminations as soon as they erupt, this because over the years they have assembled the most extensive library on Communist countries existing anywhere.

A letter writer to your paper (March 7) describes these operations as "self righteous meddling." On that basis we are also "meddling" in Peking, the Middle East, Africa, South America and Asia. As are the Russians. And the Chinese. Operating in this very real world, we had better continue to "meddle."

GORDON DAVIS  
Los Angeles

If there is one thing that is likely to reduce the threat to us in Western Europe and ultimately to you Americans it is change within the Soviet Union and increased internal pressure on the Russian leaders to change their policies. Since World War II both Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe have been broadcasting across the Iron Curtain with just this aim in mind.

I understand that Radio Liberty alone has an estimated audience of 31 million in Russia, but now the work that they are doing is threatened with extinction.

The cost of running a radio station is but a small fraction of the cost of maintaining a modern army, but the benefits can be much greater.

JOHN HARVEY  
Swansea, England

The objections to The Times' editorial position on Radio Free Europe voiced by George Holmes and Fred Warner Neal (Letters, March 7) are, in my view, unfounded. In response to the former, RFE aims precisely to encourage respect for "the right of others" to live their own way, good or bad." Less than four years after the occupation of Czech-

oslovakia, it hardly needs to be repeated that the peoples of Eastern Europe do not presently enjoy this right. RFE provides an ersatz domestic communications medium for societal forces in Eastern Europe seeking evolutionary political liberalization, national affirmation, and in time relaxation (not abolishment) of Soviet control over the area and supersession of the artificial partition of Europe.

Professor Neal depicts RFE as broadcasting cold war propaganda which has no impact on the East European populations. This is to overlook overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Continued jamming is perhaps the best indication that, for the East European Communist leaderships, more is at stake than false hopes of anti-Communists and curiosity about rock music. I know the Polish case best; I have yet to meet a foreigner who has resided in Poland—government official, journalist, or student—who has not testified to the impact of RFE in Poland and the esteem in which its broadcasts are generally held.

A. ROSS JOHNSON  
Santa Monica

*The writer was assistant for Polish affairs at RFE from 1966-1969*  
—Ed.



Totalitarianism's Little Helper

freedoms to the people of Eastern Europe—no longer exist. And that is patently untrue. It also implies that these two radio groups operate within cold war concepts. Also quite untrue.

The fact is that for many years both organizations have had to fight the charge of simplistic Americans that they have "sold out" to liberal forces within their ranks because they have not engaged in cold war tactics. Instead of name-calling and finger-pointing (I suspect most Americans are convinced this still goes on) their task for many years has been to counter the propaganda spread within the regimes and give their listeners a true per-

BALTIMORE SUN  
17 MAR 1972

## More on Radio Free Europe

"Coexistence, or detente, or whatever it happens to be called at the moment, must not be misunderstood to mean an end to the conflict of ideologies. Communism uses the press and broadcasting to manage public opinion in the interests of the state. One of the fundamentals of a free society is that people should be free to think and say what they want, and should have the communications media open to them to do so. There should be no yielding here."

The lines above are taken from an editorial in the Manchester *Guardian* weekly suggesting that

the United States should continue the operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, transmitting news and opinion from a free society into the closed society of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Government funding of the stations now is hung up in a conference committee in Congress; the proposal of the Nixon administration and the House of Representatives to appropriate money to maintain the stations is being resisted by the Senate members of the conference committee led by Senator Fulbright.

Mr. Fulbright and the senators

who share his position hold that the broadcasts, which in the past were covertly financed by the CIA, are relics of the cold war and irritants in the way of better relations with the Soviet Union. The *Guardian* puts the subject in a truer perspective when it says:

"To silence these stations would indeed remove an irritant, but it would confirm and condone the suppression of free speech in Russia and the rest of the Soviet bloc. No wonder the Soviet leaders are using such diplomatic levers as they have at hand to bring this about."

LEADER

MAR 16 1972  
WEEKLY - 4,972

## FULBRIGHT AGAIN!

Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, who has been demanding the scuttling of Radio Free Europe, has drawn fire from an esteemed international correspondent of the Copley Press, Dumitru Danielopol.

This writer's attack is squarely on target, and I pass it on to you because you should know what one United States Senator is doing to a proven effective anti-communist effort.

Sen. J. William Fulbright's stubborn determination to dismantle Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty brings to mind Malcolm Muggeridge's theory of "the great liberal death wish."

The well-known British newsman, writer, TV and radio commentator sees the Free World threatened not so much by communism, but by the "death wish" of the left wing enunciated by liberal politicians, commentators and authors who find "our enemies are always right and our friends are always wrong."

Much of the comment on that people's paradise called Red China follows this line.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, two organizations created in the early 50s to beam true information into eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are obvious targets. They are American, therefore, they must be bad, or at least ineffectual.

Never mind the fact that their existence and American backing has been a great inspiration to people behind the Iron Curtain. Never mind that they are a daily proof that the people of America have not forgotten those snared into a Communist net. And never mind that they help dispel erroneous information about

NEWSLOOK  
TODAY

by wayne robbins

the United States from Communist propaganda machines.

Fulbright says that they are useless and must go. The financing of the two stations for years was handled mostly by CIA. Now is it to be public. The House is in favor of continuing the operations. In the Senate the decision rests with the Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Sen. Fulbright, D-Ark.

He is adamant. The stations are an "anachronism" he says. "They are cold war relics." They will continue only over his "dead body." The cold war is over and we just aren't smart enough to know it.

I have often been a critic of RFE operations. I say now that on every count Fulbright is wrong. The cold war is not over. It goes on more furiously than ever.

If the cold war was over, why do the Soviets make every kind of propaganda to disband NATO, to promote a phony European Security conference, to bring about the dismemberment of Yugoslavia? Use every means to push the United States from Europe, the Mediterranean and North Africa? Why do they support every kind of subversive, anti-capitalist group in the Free World?

Moscow and other Communist capitals in Eastern Europe have been ranting for years against RFE and Radio Liberty. They even threatened not to send teams to the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972 unless the stations there

were silenced.

Now the blow comes from Washington. The silencing of these two voices would—in the opinion of this correspondent—be the greatest cold war victory that the Communists ever won. It would tell their subjugated people that Soviet rule was inevitable—endless.

The prestige of our country behind the Iron Curtain and among exiles and refugees in Western Europe would sink from sight.

It is ironic to find that Fulbright wants to strike such a blow at a moment when Red China is bidding for the support of the captive peoples and the ethnics abroad to form a common front against Russia.

The Senator may say his own "mea culpa," but he has no right to chant them for people who want to live.

12 MAR 1972

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# U.S. TO CONTINUE RADIO IN EUROPE

House and Senate Agree on  
Funds Till June 30 for  
It and Radio Liberty

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11—

Faced with an imminent shut-down of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the Administration dropped today efforts to secure long-term funds for the American-run stations and agreed to a plan to keep them alive for at least three more months.

The arrangement worked out this morning by Administration officials and Congressional aides was clearly a victory for Senator J. W. Fulbright, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who had resisted pressure to agree to an Administration-backed bill voted by the House that would have provided funds through June 30, 1973, and created an independent body to administer the station.

Mr. Fulbright had held out for acceptance of a Senate bill that provided funds through June 30, to be administered by the State Department.

An impasse had developed between Senate and House conferees and payments stopped on Feb. 22. Both stations informed the Administration that they would have to begin closing down on Monday if new funds were not available.

President Nixon, who had remained silent about the stations, issued a statement this afternoon at about same time the agreement became known. He said that he was "deeply concerned" at the prospect of the radio stations' closing down. He said it would be "a tragedy" if they did not continue.

Both stations were set up at the height of the cold war to broadcast news and commentary to the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies. Because their material often included items not available in the strictly controlled Communist media, the stations have long been attacked by Moscow and other Communist governments.

in United States government funds secretly through the Central Intelligence Agency.

But after the agency's role became public knowledge, the Administration agreed that the stations would have to be supported openly by Congress. The Administration has sought

about \$35-million a year for the two stations.

Mr. Nixon's statement said that "with the support of the American Government and people, these two unique voices of freedom have for many years been a vital source of uncensored news and commentary for tens of millions of people."

An aide to Senator Fulbright said the Presidential statement originally was much sharper and appeared to be aimed at Senator Fulbright, but was toned down in order that the agreement could be reached.

Under the arrangement worked out, the House conferees, led by Representative Thomas E. Morgan, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, will accept the Senate bill for funds through June 30.

The only concession made by the Senate side was to agree to consider later a bill which would provide funds for the fiscal year starting July 1.

Senator Fulbright was out of town, but aides said they were sure he would remain opposed to continuing the life of the stations beyond June 30.

Senator Fulbright has said he regards the stations as irritants to the Soviet Union, obstacles to better relations between East and West, and "relics of the cold war." The Arkansas Democrat has also insisted that United States allies in Europe pay a part of the upkeep for the stations, which are based in Munich, West Germany.

STATINTL

news media begin to move toward solutions. Not all of them will necessarily survive, but they and their successors should lead to an improved atmosphere for those now entering the profession.

## More monitors

Cities that still lack journalism reviews are acquiring them at a rapid rate. Three more are appearing this spring:

—*Buncombe: A Review of Baltimore Journalism*, led by staff members from the *Sunpapers*, but covering all media. The first issue is being offered as an insert in *The Paper*, an alternate-media periodical, but it will be separate thereafter. [Bimonthly; sample copy, 25 cents. Address: 2317 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, Md. 21218.]

—*TCJR: Twin Cities Journalism Review* began bimonthly publication in February. Its first editor (editorships will rotate) was Robert Protzman of the *St. Paul Dispatch*. Robert Sylvester of the *Catholic Bulletin* is president of the sponsoring Twin Cities Media Project. [Individual copies, 50 cents; annual subscription, \$3. Address: Box 17113, St. Paul, Minn. 55117.]

—The George Washington University chapter of Sigma Delta Chi has set a Washington journalism review for April publication. [Address: Daniel M. Larson, executive editor, 2121 N Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.]

Meanwhile, journalists in Buffalo, N.Y., and Boston, among other cities, have begun preliminary planning for local reviews. An honorable old title, *CBS Views the Press*, has been revived on CBS radio—though programs are aired only twice a week for four minutes. And Prof. William L. Rivers of Stanford, one of the most prolific writers on the mass media, is now conducting a regular column in the *Progressive*: MONITORING MEDIA.

## Darts and laurels

*Laurel*: to Dan Rather of CBS, for asking real questions in his *Conversation with President Nixon*

on Jan. 2, and overcoming the ever present temptation to be merely chummy or respectful.

*Dart*: to the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, for establishing the curious policy of dropping most racial identifications except for stories of "significance" such as crime reports involving two races.

*Laurel*: to the Minneapolis *Star* for its continuing consumer series, "Your Dollar's Worth." Among the series' services was a microscopic examination of the area's hamburger meat at markets and hamburger stands—down to the last bacterium and insect fragment. In each case, the seller was identified by name and address.

*Dart*: to the Newspaper Guild, for calling on Congress to continue funding for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. A Guild resolution says that the two projects "seek to lessen tensions between the peoples of the East and West." In fact, they are official propaganda agencies, and the Guild's continuing interest appears to be a hang-over from the days when the Guild itself was involved in Central Intelligence Agency funding. Radio Free Europe employs 284 Guild members.

*Laurel*: to WNET, New York, for its week-long series, *A Murrow Retrospective*, bringing back to the screen the cream of the Edward R. Murrow-Fred W. Friendly documentaries of the 1950s. The showings were confirmation that, indeed, *See It Now* had a special freshness and energy now rarely attained in TV's riper years—and the time to show them.

*Dart*: to the same WNET, for its curious post-script to the Murrow-Friendly documentary on Annie Lee Moss, the code clerk accused of Communist affiliations. Without explanation or rebuttal, the station brought on Roy Cohn to state that charges against Mrs. Moss had been affirmed.

*Laurel*: to the *Wall Street Journal*, for alertly reprinting [Jan. 19], with approval and full credit, Alan Weitz's comprehensive and thoughtful survey of the heroin problem from the *Village Voice*, ancestor of the underground press.



## Nixon Urges Hill to Save RFE Funds

Associated Press

President Nixon appealed to Congress yesterday in a last-ditch administration attempt to keep alive two radios that beam broadcasts beyond the Iron Curtain.

Unless they have assurance of more U.S. government funds, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have served notice that they intend to start shutting down operations this week.

Mr. Nixon's statement came as the administration put forward a compromise offer in its dispute with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), who wants to end the two operations.

"I am deeply concerned at the imminent prospect that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty may be compelled to shut down," Mr. Nixon said in a statement put out by the White House.

Stating that the American people and an overwhelming congressional majority strongly back Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the President said, "It would be a tragedy if their light should now be extinguished because of a parliamentary impasse between the two Houses."

State Department officials said that in the hope of quickly breaking the Senate-House-conference-committee deadlock over continuing the life of the stations, this administration compromise offer has been put forward.

The Senate-passed bill which would carry on the radios until the end of June 30 would be accepted by the conferees instead of the House measure which would continue the operations for another two years.

• Both houses would agree to consider a separate measure which the administration would submit for running the radios in the 1973 fiscal year starting July 1.

In the three months time bought by the proposed compromise, the State Department would see whether America's European allies would help pay the radios' approximately \$40-million-a-year cost.

It was understood that Sen. George Aiken (R-Vt.) would make a move Monday to accept the administration's proposed compromise in the absence of Fulbright, who was reported out of town.

Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.) was reported ready to accept the administration offer on the House side.

Mr. Nixon's statement was issued by the White House yesterday at a time when the President himself was at his Camp David retreat in Maryland, preparing a statement of policy on school busing.

## Radio Free Europe

By REP. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN (R.-N.J.)  
PEIL

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty appear on the verge of leaving the air. Beginning in 1950, Radio Free Europe has been broadcasting each day to Eastern Europe, while Radio Liberty a year later started reaching millions of listeners in the Soviet Union.



Should these broadcasts cease, it will not be because Congress decided they have outlived their usefulness. To the contrary, both houses of Congress have already approved a continuation of these programs. Since the bill passed by the House differed from that approved by the Senate, it was necessary to send the bills to a conference committee to iron out the differences.

It has been the opposition of three of the five senators in that conference, led by J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, that has led to the present stalemate. Sen. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has refused to accept any compromise. And without congressional authorization and provision of the necessary funds these programs cannot be continued.

As a House conferee, I can report that the deadlock is in no way the fault of the House. We earnestly sought agreement. The differences between the bills passed by the House and Senate were not fundamental and could have been reconciled, had good will been shown and reasonable concessions made by both sides. All that was at issue was how long the programs should continue, and how the funding should be handled.

But as Sen. Fulbright and his allies have made clear, both publicly and privately, they viewed the expiration of existing authority as an opportunity to kill these programs. By their refusal to seek—let alone reach—a compromise, they may have acted within their rights, but by their actions they unquestionably used the legislative process to further their own political convictions, rather than the expressed decision of the Senate.

They argue that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are relics of the Cold War and that by aiming broadcasts at the peoples of Eastern Europe and the

Soviet Union, these stations irritate the Communist leadership and undermine efforts at détente. I disagree. President Nixon's visit to China demonstrates that mutual understanding comes with a free exchange of ideas. Similarly, these radio stations bring needed information to the Communist world.

If three senators should be successful in killing these programs it will have been because of their manipulation of the legislative process, in defiance of the expressed desire of both the House and the Senate to have these programs continue. This is most unfortunate.

In my opinion the senators' refusal to seek a compromise is irresponsible, and a reflection on Congress itself. This willful frustration of the will of Congress will have immediate and adverse repercussions abroad, and will show the inability of Congress to see that its own decisions are carried out.

Over the years the Soviet Union and her allies in Eastern Europe have spent millions in efforts to stop Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty from reaching their citizens. There is something seriously wrong when three United States senators can accomplish this for them.

STATINTL

Radio Free EuropeShall not nation  
speak unto nation?

Senator William Fulbright's campaign against Radio Free Europe, the Munich station that has broadcast to eastern Europe since the early 1950s, is liable to have very unfortunate effects. Mr Fulbright, the chairman of the Senate's foreign relations committee, claims that the station and its twin, Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to Russia, are cold war relics and obstacles to detente. He is pressing to have their State Department grant cut off in June (until last year they were financed by the CIA). If he is successful—and it now looks as if he might be—the Administration in Washington will suffer only a small political pinprick, but the one in Moscow will be handed a major propaganda victory on a plate.

The communist governments' standard complaint against these stations is that they represent unwarranted interference in their internal affairs. What really upsets Mr Brezhnev and his colleagues is that western broadcasts are popular among listeners in communist countries, and especially among party members and intellectuals. So long as these listeners can get alternative versions of political

news by switching on their transistors, they can free themselves from their governments' monopoly of information.

The Munich stations, in particular, have annoyed the communists because they have been more outspoken than most other western stations. It was their original ambition to broadcast to eastern Europe the sort of things that a responsible opposition would be saying if it were allowed to exist there. Most of their strident anti-communism of the 1950s and early 1960s is now gone, and Radio Free Europe could not now be accused of making inflammatory appeals for revolution, as it was during the 1956 Hungarian revolt.

Now Mr Fulbright looks like doing the communist governments' work for them, and Pravda and Moscow radio are duly commending him. But the continuation of broadcasting to the east remains an essential western interest. It is not a liberal action on Mr Fulbright's part to try to silence this part of it; and it casts further doubts on his understanding of international issues. If the Americans fail to provide alternative ways of financing the Munich stations, others should step in to fill the gap. Britain might well increase its grant for the hard-pressed BBC external services, which enjoy a high reputation among listeners in the communist world.

CHICAGO, ILL.  
TRIBUNE

M - 767,793  
S - 1,016,275

MAR 9 1972

### *Iron Curtain Broadcasts*

CHAMPAIGN, ILL.—I commend your editorial "Penetrating the Iron Curtain" [March 4] for its frank putdown of Sen. Fulbright and his views on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. How he could be so naive, I can't imagine.

As you mentioned, nearly one-third [250 out of 800] of the workers and staff of Radio Liberty is composed of Soviet defectors. If, as Fulbright puts it, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were pure CIA propaganda, then why do these people who have listened to the broadcasts, and had a chance to find out the truth after having defected, go there to work after their achievement of freedom?

They know what it means to not know what is going on in the world. They know also what propaganda is, having lived with it while in the Soviet Union.

As one example, when Khrushchev died one would expect the people of the Soviet Union to hear about it immediately, as America did when President Kennedy was assassinated. However, this was not the case. For those who had no access to the Radio Liberty broadcasts the news was days late. For those who did have access to these broadcasts, the news was known immediately.

The subjugated people of the Soviet Union have learned to rely on these broadcasts as a source of hope for better things to come. If these broadcasts are cut off, the effect can be totally demoralizing and disastrous.

Taras Drozd

## ROGERS DEFENDS ASIAN ALLIANCES

**Rejects Senators' Proposal  
That Pacts Be Reviewed in  
Light of China Contracts**

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — Secretary of State William P. Rogers rejected a suggestion today that because of the current improvement in relations with China, the United States should re-examine its need for military alliances in Asia.

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Rogers said it would be "very unfortunate to leave the impression that, now that the visit to the People's Republic of China has taken place, we are thinking of treaty revisions with countries who have based their foreign policy on such treaties."

### Panel Might Take on Task

The Secretary was urged by Senator Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, to undertake the review of American alliances, such as the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, which were originally set up in the nineteen-fifties to counter possible Chinese expansionism in the wake of the Korean war and the French Indochina war.

Senator Church said that if the Administration would not undertake a review of the formal defense commitments, the Foreign Relations Committee should.

Mr. Rogers seemed disturbed at the timing of Mr. Church's suggestion. The Administration has gone out of its way to assure its Asian allies that the China trip would not undermine ties.

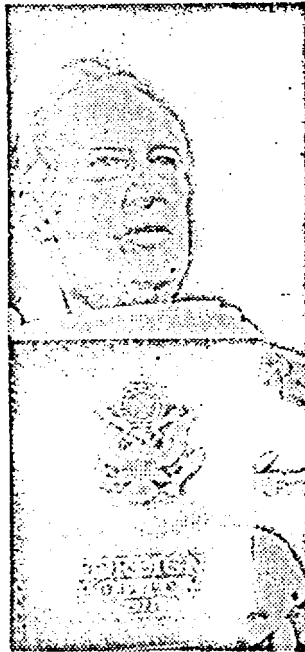
This was Mr. Rogers's first public appearance before the committee since October. But the committee members seemed almost uninterested in questioning him on such major recent developments as the China trip, the forthcoming Presidential visit to Japan, and the talks on strategic arms, the Middle

East, Vietnam or any of the other problems that have received public attention.

Senator J. W. Fulbright, the chairman, and Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, devoted a considerable amount of time to bickering with Mr. Rogers over the value of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, two American-run radio stations in Munich whose future depends on further appropriations from Congress.

### Senators Stress Opposition

The two Senators stressed their opposition to the stations, with Mr. Fulbright at one point asserting that an agreement on a limitation on strategic arms may have been delayed be-



The New York Times

**William P. Rogers, Secretary of State, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.**

cause of such irritants to the Russians as Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union news and analysis not available from Soviet sources.

Senator John Sherman Cooper, Republican of Kentucky, disagreed with Senator Fulbright over the effect on the arms limitation talks. He said that he understood that considerable progress had been made and that a first-stage agreement would be reached by the time Mr. Nixon visits Moscow late in May.

Mr. Rogers, asked for comment, said he was optimistic that an accord would be achieved this year.

This morning's session opened three days of hearings on the State Department's request for \$563-million in the fiscal year starting June 30.

### Change in Procedure

This is the first time that the department has had to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee for authorization. Previously its budget requests were handled solely by the Appropriations Committee, with no requirement for separate authorizing legislation.

Mr. Fulbright and several other Senators questioned Mr. Rogers on his role in policy formulation, with Mr. Fulbright suggesting that the Secretary had let Henry A. Kissinger, President Nixon's assistant for national security, dominate foreign policy.

But Mr. Rogers repeated in essence what he said at a news conference yesterday — that he was "perfectly satisfied" with the current division of responsibility.

In answer to a question from Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, Mr. Rogers said it was doubtful that the President would go to Japan this year because he has "other things to attend to" — an allusion to the forthcoming campaign. Emperor Hirohito has said he would be very pleased if Mr. Nixon visited Japan.

Despite the fact that members of the committee have often criticized the Administration's foreign policy, most of the members at the hearing personally praised Mr. Rogers for his work.

STATINTL

# Letters To The Editor

## *On Radio Free Europe*

In connection with the uncertain fate of Radio Free Europe I would like to emphasize that its liquidation would be interpreted by the peoples of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania as the final recognition by the United States of the present status quo and of the permanency of the Soviet rule in East Europe. Surely, it would not kill their striving for independence but, paradoxically, might result in shifting their hopes toward the People's Republic of China, which alone of the great powers shows some interest in East European countries regaining their independence. This interest was demonstrated by several announcements of the Peking government and, not so long ago, by the vehement condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia by the present Chinese delegation to the United Nations. It is also being demonstrated by Radio Peking broadcasts to East Europe and by Radio Tirana broadcasts to Poland.

In addition the closing of Radio Free Europe would represent an unwarranted gift to Soviet Russia which through her own and satellite facilities pours "hate America" propaganda 900 hours daily in 78 languages.

STEFAN KORBONSKI,

Chairman, Assembly of Captive European Nations,  
New York.

# Rogers Defends State Department Policy Role at Senate Hearing

By Murrey Marder

Washington Post Staff Writer

Senate concern over the "erosion" of the State Department's theoretical primacy in foreign affairs was disputed and brushed aside yesterday by Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

"I am perfectly satisfied with the way it is operating," said Rogers. The State Department is "happy to play a role" in foreign policy, and "Mr. Kissinger has a role," said Rogers, but "the people elected the President" to "make foreign policy."

Rogers refused in that fashion, to debate whether he is being overshadowed by presidential security adviser Henry A. Kissinger. That conformed with his insistence on Monday that, "I didn't feel excluded at all" during the President's trip to China.

As a result, Rogers' words deflected the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday from its own groping efforts to enhance the State Department's share in formulating foreign policy.

The committee, headed by Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) held its first hearing on \$563 million requested in authorization funds for the State Department as required by a rider it attached to last year's foreign aid act. A major purpose, as Fulbright noted yesterday, is "restoring Congress' proper role in the making of foreign policy."

With Kissinger beyond the official reach of the committee because he is a White House adviser, Fulbright and other senators hoped Rogers would join in seeking to strengthen State's hand in policy making. In theory, that would strengthen the role of Congress, because State is obliged to be more responsive to Congress than is the White House.

Rogers, however, pronounced himself quite satisfied with the status quo.

He disclaimed any concern

about having State Department positions lost in the National Security Council staff machinery that Kissinger controls. If anything develops "contrary to what I think should be done," said Rogers, "take it up with the President."

"The system is working very well," Rogers insisted. "The foreign policy is very effective."

Rogers also came under close questioning yesterday about the need to jettison what several senators called remnants of the cold war.

Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), commending the President's China trip, said it is time to eliminate all vestiges of the "China demon fixation" in U.S. policy. Church said there is "no relic" that more deserves being "tossed in the ash can" of history than the Southeast Asian Collective Defense Treaty of 1954.

The SEATO treaty is "a corpse," said Church, long abandoned by France, Britain and Pakistan; invoked as "an after thought" to help justify U.S. involvement in the Indochina war, but now deserving "decent burial" to avoid use in other entanglements.

Rogers, however, told Church "your timing is particularly unfortunate."

Following the President's China trip, said Rogers, the United States is now reassuring its Asian allies that it will abide by all its "commitments." To abandon the SEATO treaty now, said Rogers, could be "quite danger-

ous" and would suggest "a 180-degree turn" in U.S. policy.

Church countered that since ancient Rome, "no other country in history has undertaken so many formal commitments as the government of the United States—to 44 countries."

Rogers also was challenged by Fulbright and Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) on administration support of funds until June 1973 for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. They were previously financed covertly by the CIA. The dispute is in a Senate-House conference, with the Senate favoring funding only until June 30 of this year.

The U.S.-China communique, pledging peaceful co-existence, Fulbright said, "is quite inconsistent with what you are doing in Russia." The broadcasts beamed into the Soviet Union, said Fulbright, continue "old, obsolete programs created at the beginning of the cold war, at the height of the McCarthy period."

Fulbright claimed that continuation of such broadcasts could result in "a lack of credibility" about U.S. intentions to negotiate in the strategic arms control talks (SALT) and to reduce tensions. Rogers disagreed. He said he sees the radio as no "interference in the internal affairs of other countries," and he expressed optimism for a SALT agreement this year.

During the hearing, Ful-

bright suggested various approaches for strengthening the State Department's position in foreign affairs, including a "unified budget for foreign affairs." Rogers said that would be "too complex." Fulbright noted that other agencies, including CIA and Defense, have "seven or eight times as many people in our embassies as the State Department does." Rogers said State has only 16 per cent of its own employees in embassies overseas, and State's total employees were listed at 13,236.

Rogers disagreed, however, with Fulbright's claim that the growing National Security Council structure, which Kissinger heads, has overstepped its intended authority.

STATINTL



STATINTL

## Financing more cold war

The resolution introduced in the Senate last week by 50 Senators urging U.S. government financial support for Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe is admittedly a "cold war" resolution.

In introducing the resolution Senator Charles Percy said, emphatically, that the term "cold war" is "valid" in respect to the "Soviet Union and... the other countries of Eastern Europe."

That is the viewpoint behind which Goldwater and Buckley, Eastland, Thurmond, and Jackson, on the one hand — and Kennedy, McGovern, Muskie, and Stevenson, on the other hand — are united.

Their excuse? That the two CIA radio stations are, in the words of Senator Percy, purveyors of "objective news."

Expert witnesses testifying before the Congressional Black Caucus Monday showed that the domestic U.S. communications system is racist in orientation, hiring practices, and ownership. That is the background for the two CIA stations the Senators would save.



7 MAR 1972

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100070001-5

**58 Senators Signed****Radio Free Europe  
Funds Win Support**

By DAVID BARNETT  
News American  
Washington Bureau

STATINTL

WASHINGTON — Growing support for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty appeared today to have blunted Sen. J. William Fulbright's drive to silence the two controversial stations.

Scott Cohen, executive assistant to Sen. Charles Percy, R-Ill., said 58 senators had signed up as sponsors of the Percy-Humphrey resolution expressing the intention of the Senate to continue funding the stations.

The formation of a national bipartisan committee of 60 former high government officials, diplomats and labor and business leaders to support the stations was announced yesterday.

INTERIM federal financing for the overseas broadcasting operation expired Feb. 22 and House and Senate conferees are deadlocked on a bill authorizing funds for the stations. The units have enough money on hand to continue operating for about two more weeks.

Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told the Senate Feb. 17 that the stations "should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of Cold War relics."

The senator put into the Congressional Record yesterday Library of Congress studies generally favorable to the stations. He reiterated his conviction that the stations should be silenced but added, "unless perhaps our European allies will help pick up the costs."

A SUPPORTER of the operation said he was sure the Europeans would help keep the stations alive, if asked.

The Senate last Aug. 2 authorized \$35 million for fiscal 1972 for Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts news, commentary, music and sports 16 hours a day to five countries in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Radio Liberty, which broadcasts 24 hours a day to the Soviet Union,

The House bill, passed Nov. 19, provides \$36 million for the current fiscal year, ending June 30, and \$38.5 million for fiscal 1973. It also creates a presidential commission to study the situation and to run the stations in the meantime.

The conference committee to iron out the differences last met Feb. 23.

HOUSE Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Thomas E. Morgan, D-Pa., said the Senate

conference, headed by Fulbright, refused to make any compromise, making it apparent they "favored abolishing the two stations."

For 20 years, the stations have been financed covertly by the Central Intelligence Agency and by private contributions. The private funds amount to about 15 per cent of the total.

The citizens' committee, which includes all living former U. S. ambassadors to the Soviet Union, said in a policy statement that to shut down these "valuable instruments of communication" without careful consideration "would be an irresponsible action contrary to the best interests of the American people."

BALTIMORE, MD,

SUN

M - 164,621

E - 189,871

S - 323,624

MAR 7 1972

## Ball urges continued support for 2 U.S. cold war radio stations

By PETER J. KUMPA

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—A committee of 60 prominent foreign policy experts of the past three decades yesterday urged Congress to continue the operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty until a future presidential commission study is completed.

Speaking for the committee was George W. Ball, former under secretary of state and now a partner of Lehman Brothers, a New York investment banking firm.

Its target was Senator J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who has refused any compromise between Senate and House versions of funding legislation for the two semi-official radio stations.

Mr. Fulbright wants the radios closed as "relics of the cold war."

### Kept the pressure on

Mr. Ball argued instead that the stations kept pressure on the Soviet government while promoting an East-West detente. He maintained that the Kremlin was no longer impervious to public opinion within the Soviet bloc.

"If we are seriously for negotiations for a detente," Mr. Ball explained, "it is best to open doors and windows to Eastern Europe and let some fresh breezes blow in."

Mr. Ball spoke at a news conference here on behalf of a committee that includes the three living former United States ambassadors to the Soviet Union, Charles E. Bohlen, W. Averall Harriman and

The group, called "the Citizens Committee on Radio Free

Europe and Radio Liberty," also includes the president emeritus of the Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, and such leading figures of past administrations as Clark Clifford, C. Douglas Dillon, John J. McCloy and William Benton.

The committee's policy statement supported the House conferees' solution for the two radio stations: The House would finance the stations until June of next year while a White House commission studies their future.

Senator Fulbright, heading the Senate conferees, would let the radios exist until this June—but not beyond that date.

Mr. Ball said he could not understand the Fulbright position—how the Soviet Union would be moved to a detente when its own people and the 85 million people of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania would be deprived of independent news of the West and their own systems.

Radio Free Europe estimates that its audience includes slightly over half of the Eastern European populations over the age of 14. Radio Liberty broadcasts to the Soviet Union.

Committee aides estimated that the radio stations will have to close down in two weeks if funds are not made available.

With them will go the research staffs that support the broadcasting of news, political commentaries and press reviews.

Mr. Ball admitted that the former secret financing of the stations by the Central Intelligence Agency was a "mistake." But he urged that the "sins of the father" not be "passed on to the sons." He asked that the stations be judged on their merit for, in the committee's words, "an irresponsible action" would result from their closure.

7 MAR 1972

# Letters to The Times

## Fulbright Is Right on Radio Free Europe

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) is right again, and you are wrong on Radio Free Europe (Editorial, Feb. 24). We have finally learned some humility through the Vietnam fiasco, but apparently we still have many things to learn. When will we realize that though we are the mightiest country, and in many ways the best, nobody elected us to run the rest of the world.

Just imagine if the Soviet Union had a Radio Free America stirring up disaffection against our government, using bases in Canada and Mexico! There will be no real peace until we grant others the right we insist upon for ourselves, the right to live their own way, good or bad, without our self-righteous meddling.

GEORGE HOLMES  
Long Beach

I would like to express, as strongly as possible, my support for Sen. Fulbright's efforts to eliminate federal funds for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, two government outlets for cold war propaganda.

Radio Free Europe was long a secret CIA-financed operation—conducted by anti-Communist emigres—aimed at creating unrest in Eastern Europe. Radio Liberty was a similarly financed activity aimed at the Soviet Union. These two remnants of the cold war have never had significant impact other than to interfere with improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, except, perhaps, that Radio Free Europe played a minor role in the disastrous Budapest uprising of 1956. That either of these two radio propaganda activities has ever been important—let alone now—is a fantasy fostered primarily by our propaganda bureaucracy for its own ends.

Radio Free Europe—aimed at Eastern Europe—doubtless fosters false hopes among small anti-Communist groups and intrigues a limited number out of curiosity and interest in American rock music. Radio Liberty's target is the Soviet Union, where its audience is even more minuscule.

STATINTL

7 MAR 1972

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## Fulbright, Citing China, Deplores Any Aid to Radio Free Europe

STATINTL

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 6—  
Senator J. W. Fulbright said today that the Nixon Administration's pledge not to interfere in China's internal affairs made continued support of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty incomprehensible.

The two-decade-old stations, privately run by Americans with United States Government assistance, view their purpose as the liberalization of the Soviet Union and members of its bloc.

The comment by the Arkansas Democrat, who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was included in a statement affirming his view that the stations should be liquidated. He has asserted that he believes they hurt the chances of improving relations with Moscow and should be discarded as "cold war relics."

Government funds for the stations ran out on Feb. 22, unless Senate and House conferees overcome the difference between their bills, the stations will close in about two weeks. Until last year they had been assisted secretly by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The impasse has been caused by the refusal by Mr. Fulbright, as the chief Senate conferee, to approve financing beyond June 30, as provided in the Senate bill. The Administration-backed House bill would provide funds until June 30, 1973.

To put pressure on Mr. Fulbright to change his stand, 57 senators introduced a joint resolution last week expressing their support for the two stations. But the resolution, which must be approved by the Foreign Relations Committee, is not expected to be brought to

a floor vote soon. Only six of the committee's 16 members joined in the resolution, which was broadly interpreted on Capitol Hill as a rebuke to Mr. Fulbright.

Today George W. Ball, a former Under Secretary of State, held a news conference here to announce the formation of a bi-partisan citizens' committee in favor of the house bill. Mr. Ball said that he believed détente in Europe could be fostered by continuation on the stations, which he said keep Eastern Europeans informed.

The House bill would set up a special committee to administer the stations independent of the Government. The Senate version would fund them directly through the State Department. The Administration has opposed State Department control, arguing that the stations, which beam news and views about internal developments in the Communist bloc, should be independent.

Senator Fulbright, quoting from the communique issued in Shanghai, noted that the United States supported the principle of nonintervention in other countries.

## Radio Europe Studies Cited By Fulbright

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), stung by criticism that he had suppressed two Library of Congress studies favorable to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, read both reports into the Congressional Record yesterday after noting that he had received the final versions only last Friday afternoon.

Backed by all four other Senate members of a House-Senate conference on a bill to continue the two radio stations, Fulbright has been in a dispute with the House Foreign Affairs Committee over how long the stations should be funded.

Senate conferees favor funding only through June 30 of this year, with the State Department required to justify anything beyond that. House conferees are holding out for June 1973. Meanwhile, regular congressional financing, in place of the former covert CIA funding, expired Feb. 22. Fulbright considers the stations, which broadcast into Eastern Europe, a provocative irritant to East-West relations whose cost isn't justified.

Some defenders of the stations say they simply broadcast primarily truthful news to Eastern Europe. But Fulbright said the Radio Liberty study makes clear that that station's aim is to influence political events.

He quoted the Library of Congress study as saying that Radio Liberty "identified with what it believes to be the best interests of the Soviet peoples and speaks in their behalf, hoping that in the long run this effort will contribute to those forces seeking to bring about a democratic transformation of Soviet society. For, RL's ultimate goal is the peaceful democratization of the Soviet Union; and it holds to the belief that the best assurance for peace with Russia is through the diminution of Soviet totalitarianism and the growth of democracy."

Meanwhile, a newly formed committee of scholars and former government leaders issued a statement calling for continued congressional support of the stations "pending a full and fair examination of their effectiveness." The group's spokesman is former Undersecretary of State George W. Ball.

and the general lack of reliable, objective information.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

As a point of departure, we must recognize that the Soviet hostility toward public opinion research, the campaign conducted against Radio Liberty, and the retaliation of the Soviet authorities against Soviet citizens are real. The political proscription and persecution the citizens may be exposed to are too severe to be ignored. The citizenry, living in the heavily controlled social environment, is fully aware of the possible consequences and carefully avoids unnecessary risks. Nor could Radio Liberty survive if it did not proceed with caution and responsibility.

Just what the proper level of caution should be in the present period is not easy to tell. The number of Soviet travelers has increased, cultural contacts are generally on the rise, and Soviet citizens may move somewhat more freely or at least more frequently abroad.

Similar but probably more articulate developments were recognized and used by RFE for the institution of public opinion research activities founded on scientific principles. Parenthetically mentioned, this work requires a careful reconciliation of ideal criteria and diverse, situational constraints. Nonetheless, as a result of its audience research, Radio Free Europe is now in the position to document the size of its audiences and the dimensions of its impact.

The value of this knowledge is considerable and it bears both methodologically as well as substantively on the larger issue Senator Fulbright has clearly articulated in recent hearings on the role of social sciences in U.S. foreign policy and international relations. In our atomic age a better understanding of the Communist powers, their perception of the world, and the psychological factors influencing their decisions represents a matter of human survival. Senator Fulbright expressed surprise at how little research is presently being conducted on this issue.<sup>3</sup>

Both RFE's and RL's research is closely related to this issue. RFE has set the example that empirical research in this domain is not a hopeless enterprise. Even though Radio Liberty operates under more restrained conditions, Radio Free Europe's success suggests that it would be worthwhile to explore the applicability of new approaches under the present, partially changed situation. Just as it would be wrong to overestimate the changes in their dimensions and consequences, it would also be wrong to miss the opportunities these changes may offer for research. There are three main developments which suggest taking a fresh look at this problem.

a. There are some indications of freer criticism in the U.S.S.R. and a lessening of fears and inhibitions of the Soviet citizen to meet foreigners and to talk more openly.

b. Recent years have shown an increase in the number of Soviet tourists, especially travelers on scientific and business missions to the West.

c. Radio Liberty has shifted its institutional status from a situation of confidentiality, undisclosed sponsorship to an open in-

stitution with responsibilities and information policies exposed to public control.

This partially changed situation may not warrant a public opinion research matching Western polls in size and style but may provide for a gradual introduction of scientific methods on a modest scale and carefully adjusted in approach.

The groups interviewed presently from year to year are large enough (N=500) to warrant statistical treatment. By a certain standardization of the interview procedure, the comparability of the individual interviews may be substantially increased. By focusing the interview on predetermined categories of information, opinion profiles may be derived and trends analyzed.

It appears to be advisable to retain the present distinction between program evaluation by panel and audience research by interviews. Because it is especially important for the panel members to be articulate and up-to-date, the use of recent emigrants may be useful. For audience research in order to increase the representativeness of the interviewed samples, RFE's policy of using travelers exclusively may be adopted.

Similarly, it may be recommended that Radio Liberty explore the possibility of adopting the RFE approach of contracting out the interviewing to independent national public opinion and market research organizations. The language is a problem here but these national firms may hire Russians as interviewers just as RFE's contractors hire Eastern Europeans. The use of these independent business organizations offers an effective method of demonstrating that the surveys involve public opinion research with no relationship to intelligence and espionage work.

In order to reduce the problem resulting from a lack of experience with social science and survey methods, it is desirable to explore alternative methods in the administration and form of the interview to adapt it to the Soviet samples.

Here preference may be given to projective techniques which show people's perceptions and attitudes without forcing them to make statements on topics which may be judged sensitive or political by Soviet standards. Similarly, tasks of obviously mechanical nature (checkmarking, rank ordering of given alternative choices) may be used effectively to underscore the statistical, impersonal nature of the interest in contrast to the more personal nature of interest suggested by direct questions.

While some of these ideas may fail, others may work better than expected in the present situation which does suggest certain elements of change. After all, some of the present-day RFE research would have appeared unthinkable five or ten years ago.

Finally, because the Soviet public opinion data bear on a critical information gap which has important political as well as scientific relevance, and because this information is essential to provide for an educated U.S. public opinion instead of being kept confidential, it should be given the necessary publicity.

#### JOSEPH G. WHALEN

Joseph G. Whalen, presently a twenty-year employee of the Library of Congress, was born in Olean, New York, on January 1, 1921. He entered the U.S. Navy immediately after Pearl Harbor and served in the Pacific Theater, participating in the capture of Iwo Jima

and the occupation of Japan. He graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, in 1943, with honors in history, and won the Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Rochester in 1959. For five months in 1946 he was employed by the State Department on the staff of the Far Eastern Commission. From 1948 to 1951 he was a graduate student and an instructor in history at the University of Rochester. In 1951, he was briefly employed by the Central Intelligence Agency prior to accepting a position on the staff of the Foreign Affairs Division of the Legislative Reference Service (now the Congressional Research Service) of the Library of Congress.

Dr. Whalen is a member of the American Historical Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, and the American Political Science Association (Washington Chapter). Since 1966, he has been a regular participant in the Inter-University Research Colloquium on Russia and Eastern Europe, Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies of the George Washington University.

He has written, or helped prepare, the following:

1. U.S. Congress. House. Select Committee on Communist Aggression. *Baltic States: A Study of their Origin and National Development; their Seizure and Incorporation into the U.S.S.R.* Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1954. 537 p.

[Prepared Chapters III and IV, re-wrote Chapter II, performed coordinating and editorial tasks for Committee.]

2. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. *Tensions within the Soviet Captive Countries. Hungary.* 83rd Cong., 1st sess. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1954. pp. 173-206.

[Prepared study on basis of first draft by Dr. Bela T. Kardos.]

3. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Un-American Activities. *Who Are They?* Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1957-1959.

[Prepared biographic studies on Janos Kadar of Hungary, Part 4; Tito of Yugoslavia, Part 5; Enver Hoxha of Albania and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej of Rumania, Part 9; and Karl Marx, Part 10.]

4. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. *The Soviet Empire: Prison House of Nations and Races.* Prepared for the Internal Security Subcommittee. 85th Cong., 2nd sess. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1958. 72 p.

5. *World Communism: A Selected Annotated Bibliography.* Prepared at the request of Senator Edward Martin and Senator Joseph S. Clark, Jr. of Pennsylvania and published by the Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1958. 20 p.

6. U.S. Congress. Senate. *Khrushchev on the Shifting Balance of World Forces: A Selection of Statements and in Interpretive Analysis.* A special study presented by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. 86th Cong., 1st sess. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1959. 13 p.

7. *Soviet-American Relations, 1933-60: A Brief Selective Chronology with Interpretive Commentary.* Washington, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, 1960. Published in, *The Congressional Record* by Senator Everett M. Dirksen, July 1, 1960, pp. 142238-142254 (Daily edition).

8. U.S. Congress. Senate. *Khrushchev's*

<sup>3</sup>Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, *Psychological Aspects of Foreign Policy*, U.S. Government Printing Office, June 1969.

quirements for broadcasting through the appropriate telecommunications authority in the host country for notification to the ITU.

What is important about this arrangement is that the frequencies are registered with the ITU in the name of the country filing the notification, that is, the host country. This action neither confers nor implies any vested rights to the individual franchised user of that frequency but only priority rights granted by the country of notification, that is, the host country.<sup>33</sup> Dependency of RL on the host country for its license to transmit is, therefore, great, and as RL's network chief George Herrick said in commenting on the precarious nature of licensing and frequency allocation, "the loss of frequency and license is an irreversible loss; it can't be negotiated as an economic matter; the right to operate and the right to frequencies can't be bought." The matter of licensing became a serious question for RL in the spring of 1971 when its license to transmit in Germany came up for renewal. The Soviet bloc exerted great pressure on the West German Government not to renew the license, but the West Germans resisted, and RL was given a new lease on life in Munich and Lampshelm.

#### B. Research facilities

##### 1. Overview of Resources

RL's broadcasting operations are supported by a research effort that is impressive both in quality and in quantity. To keep abreast of internal developments in the Soviet Union and to know what gaps to fill in their programming, RL researchers, programmers and other staff read and process more than 250 Soviet newspapers and journals in addition to an equal number from the West. The annotated bibliographic notes prepared on the basis of this press screening have furnished vast and unique archives containing more than one million separate items of information.

In addition to this, RL monitors listen to, tape, and partially or fully reproduce the texts of from 80 to 120 hours of Soviet broadcasting a day, including the gist of the columns which Soviet citizens are reading in their daily newspapers.<sup>34</sup>

Moreover, RL libraries in New York and Munich provide extensive coverage of recent periods of Soviet history and up-to-date information on current Soviet affairs. The library collection in New York consists of 14,000 books, subscriptions to 200 Western and 220 Soviet periodicals and dailies, 2,500 microfilms, and extensive files of archival material as well as a record and tape library. In Munich, researchers and programmers have available a library collection of 65,000 books, subscriptions to 291 Soviet periodicals, including 59 newspapers and 232 magazines and scholarly journals. The library also contains documents, reports, pamphlets and microfilms. Published materials are supplemented by a large archive of in-house mimeographed research materials dating back to 1951.<sup>35</sup>

Presently, RL has under consideration the problem of maintaining a vast samizdat collection which increases with each passing week. Scholars regard RL as the largest archive for this valuable raw research material.<sup>36</sup> In collecting samizdat, and in reproducing an extra copy for broadcasters, RL has found itself performing a major service to a small circle of Western specialists; but now it is faced with the problem of whether a similar service should be performed for a larger outside circle.<sup>37</sup> Recently a decision was reached on releasing samizdat, and the mechanism for making it available to the scholarly world is now being explored. Negotiations are underway to have duplicate copies of the material deposited in the Library of Congress so that scholars will have ready access to this rich bank of research material.

##### 2. Research Resources at RL's Munich Headquarters

Both New York and Munich maintain separate research facilities to support their own individual programming operations. The main research effort is, however, in Munich. There, the division of labor and allocation of research resources seem to be structured generally to suit the particular needs of the organization as it has taken shape over the years. Dispersion, therefore, characterizes the informational side of RL's operations.

Formally, the primary research base within RL is the Research Department. Efforts have been made to integrate policy and research so that policy can have the assurance and support of solid underpinnings of data and analysis. Thus, the Research Department falls administratively within the responsibility of the Director of the Program Policy Division. The Research Department also acts as an informational conduit for programmers through which up-to-date information is channeled. In brief, the Research Department seeks to establish an inter-relationship with both policy and programming.

In large measure it is one of the principal support units of RL's broadcasting operations. Research staff maintain individual sources of information. A remarkable bank of data on the Soviet Union called "the Red Archives" is at their disposal. Since the Research Department has become the primary depository in RL for the processing of samizdat and feeding it into programming, researchers have this wealth of new material to enrich their research product.

The library acts as a broad base archival support for RL's operations. In addition to the general services that a library renders to a research organization, library staff provides RL researchers and programmers with bibliographic information on such matter as new acquisitions and on projected subjects for broadcasting set forth in the Monthly Guidance. Library staff also maintain a close "inter-library loan" relationship with the Bavarian State Library in Munich where they can draw on its highly commended "East European Collection."

Programmers also have their own independent sources of information, in addition to what is available in the Research Department. This is especially the case with the Nationalities Service. Owing to their specialized interest in the non-Russian Soviet nationalities and to the heavy emphasis on strictly Russian materials in RL's research resources, staff of the Nationalities Service have had to develop their own sources of information. In fact, the programmers in both the Russian and Nationalities Services, specialists themselves in their own fields, have acquired a finger-tip sensitivity to developing events and thus often rely upon their own resources rather than the lengthy, scholarly-oriented studies from the Research Department, sometimes too indigestible to suit their immediate needs. The programming effort is essentially a journalistic operation; it is "history in a hurry", as one senior staffer said; it is an "integrating process" of past knowledge with unfolding contemporary history in which speed is vital. Hence, the need for this special source of information within immediate reach and in a readily useable form.

Other sources of data are available in the Information Center and Music Library which are administratively under the Program Operations Division. The Information Center maintains ready-reference material such as reviews and periodical literature, along with a 10-day deposit of RFE daily news budgets. The Music Library maintains an extensive record and tape collection.

Thus, RL has substantial resources of information and research data available for staff; but it is widely dispersed throughout the organization. This development seems to

have been dictated by the special requirements of the various departments in research and programming. As a result, the library seems to have taken on the form of an archival center rather than that of a nerve center for a research organization, at least in the American sense. Whether or not dispersal or centralization of research resources into a central library is the most effective and efficient mechanism of organizing RL's informational data may well be a question for future consideration.

##### 3. The Institute for the Study of the USSR

The Institute for the Study of the USSR was, until recently,<sup>38</sup> another support service available for RL staff in research and programming. The Institute was an entirely separate operation from RL's broadcasting functions, and administratively it was responsible directly to the President of the RL Committee. However, the Institute was located in Munich, and its research resources were available to RL.

The Institute's library of 75,000 volumes constituted one of the richest specialized collections on the Soviet Union in Europe. It concentrated on the acquisition of Soviet materials, particularly current periodicals and newspapers. It also contained a large number of books and periodicals not now available. Such basic research materials as the complete sets of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* since 1917 were available on microfilm. In addition, the Institute maintained an extensive biographic file of more than 130,000 leading Soviet personalities. One of its many publications was the standard reference work, "Who's Who in the USSR."<sup>39</sup>

The main effort of the Institute was in the realm of publications, notably of periodical literature which focused mainly on Soviet interest in the underdeveloped areas of the world. However, the Institute also published books based on conferences and symposia in which leading Soviet specialists in the West participated. A recent book in this series is, "The Military-Technical Revolution", published by Praeger, edited by John Erickson, and containing chapters on Soviet defense matters by leading specialists in the West. In addition, the Institute sponsored a 6-week Soviet Area and Russian Language Summer School conducted by the University of Oklahoma.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, the Institute served various purposes for RL staff: it provided library materials that supplemented collections in their own library, it brought together specialists on Soviet affairs in conferences and symposia, thus enabling RL staff through consultations and informal associations to gain other perspectives on the Soviet reality; and finally it published data that was available for immediate staff use in research.

##### 4. Availability of RL's Research Resources and Output to Scholars

RL's research facilities are open to scholars and researchers. Moreover, RL makes many of its research products available to a wide range of specialists on Soviet affairs. Thus, RL is able to serve two functions: it is able to maintain its important connection with specialists in the scholarly community in the West to whom it often turns for advice and counsel on programming and policy; it is also able to infuse up-to-date information and important emerging ideas into the mainstream of Western thought on developments in the Soviet Union.

A major effort is made by RL to keep Soviet specialists informed on current happenings in the USSR. It does this by distributing free-of-charge its publications to 650 specialists in North America who have regularly asked to receive the material.

RL publications include RL Dispatches on current affairs analysis, issued several times a week; RL Research Papers, providing more extensive background information; and RL



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translations of significant articles from the Soviet press. (For examples of RL's publications, see Appendix 22.) The latter two publications are issued on an ad hoc basis.<sup>41</sup>

RL research facilities have, therefore, not only provided support for RL programmers and broadcasters, but, as a spin-off of its primary activity, namely, broadcasting, it has also provided an important service to specialists in academia, the government, and the mass media who are concerned with contemporary Soviet affairs.

A measure of the value of RL's research materials to Western scholarship can be seen in the appraisal by Prof. Leonard Schapiro of the London School of Economics. Prof. Schapiro wrote that he has followed the work of RL "very closely" for over 15 years and that "the products of the research in which it engages, and on which it broadcasts are founded, have been closely studied by me and by my colleagues in my department for many years." "I have no hesitation in stating," Prof. Schapiro went on, "that the quality of this research has been consistently high and that it has proved of inestimable value to those who, like ourselves, are concerned with the study of the Soviet Union."<sup>42</sup>

The tone of this endorsement of RL's research products along with others reproduced in Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings and in RL's statement to Congress have the flavor of excessive testimonials; but this judgment must be balanced by an awareness that the writers are eminent scholars in the field of Soviet studies, and speak with some authority.

#### 5. Importance of Research in RL's Operations

The quality of research done by RL, whether it be in the Research Department or among programmers, and the availability of input source material, whether it be in the form of books, periodical literature, the press, radio monitoring or even word of mouth, is vital to RL's broadcasting operations. For the quality of information derived from research sources, along with the daily input of news (which is essentially part of the research process), determines in large measure the degree to which RL is achieving its stated goals and purposes as a surrogate "Home Service" for the Soviet people. By the nature of things RL must operate from the premise that its audience suffers from large informational gaps which it seeks to fill.

RL tries to give the Soviet audience a reasonably complete picture of reality as any Soviet citizen would perceive it had he access to free information as in the West. And this can be done only by research, analysis, and a highly rational selection of news—in brief, only by hard intellectual effort.

#### VI. FUNDING: SOURCE OF CONTROVERSY

In recent years RL's annual budget has ranged between \$12 to \$14 million. According to Senator Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.), the operating cost of RL for FY 1969 was \$12,887,401.<sup>43</sup> According to a GAO estimate, RL's budget for 1971 was about \$13,700,000.<sup>44</sup>

Formally, these funds were apparently supposed to have been provided by private sources in RFE/RL's capacity, in the State Department's words, as "private broadcasters."<sup>45</sup> However, according to the SFRC report, the "gap between private contributions and actual budget expenditures . . . has been filled by funds from the Central Intelligence Agency . . ."<sup>46</sup> According to the State Department, RL has no program for corporate funding, such as that for RFE.<sup>47</sup> (During the decade 1962-1971, RL received about \$20,000 in unsolicited funds.) The SFRC report stated that the " . . . Executive Branch officials refuse publicly to acknowledge the [Central Intelligence] Agency's participation or role in maintaining and operating the two Radios."

Accordingly, "the Department declined to supply additional financial data for this report on Government funding of RFE and RL."<sup>48</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Public financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Hearings. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971, p. 5. Hereafter cited as, "SFRC, RFE/RL Hearings."

<sup>2</sup> When the press reported that the Library of Congress and General Accounting Office were going to prepare studies on RFE/RL for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Howland H. Sargeant, President of Radio Liberty Committee, wrote Dr. L. Quincy Mumford, the Librarian of Congress: "Radio Liberty is now completing its second decade of uninterrupted broadcasting to the Soviet Union. I would like to assure you that Radio Liberty programs and documentation relating to these broadcasts are freely available to the Library of Congress in carrying out its assignment from the Foreign Relations Committee. I offer our fullest cooperation and look forward to hearing from those in charge of the studies as to how we may be most helpful." (Sargeant to Mumford, Radio Liberty Committee, July 26, 1971.)

<sup>3</sup> Documentary material provided by RL is deposited temporarily in the Foreign Affairs Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Citations to sources refer to particular documents as filed according to volume. For the most part material drawn from interviews is not cited in the footnotes.

<sup>4</sup> Radio Liberty: An Historical Sketch. September 2, 1971, p. 1. (RL, v. IV, pt. 1)

<sup>5</sup> Evolution of Radio Liberty Policy: 1952-1971, p. 1. (RL, v. IV, pt. 2)

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Hobbing, Enno. Radio Liberation Speaks for the Silent. The New Leader, v. 41, Oct. 6, 1958: 21-22, and Petrov, Vladimir. Radio Liberation. The Russian Review, v. 17, April 1958: 110.

<sup>8</sup> In a critical appraisal of RL, Erik Barnouw observed in his history of American broadcasting that RL had begun broadcasting two months after the inauguration of President Eisenhower, and he went on to say: "Although plans for it had been made earlier, Radio Liberation became the epitome of the foreign policy of the following years, a policy dominated by John Foster Dulles of the Department of State and Allen W. Dulles of the Central Intelligence Agency—two remarkable and complex men, differing yet working in harmony. They made a fateful impress not only on American diplomacy but also on its broadcasting—at home and abroad." (The Image Empire: a History of Broadcasting in the United States. New York, Oxford University Press, 1970, v. III, p. 92)

<sup>9</sup> Evolution of Radio Liberty Policy: 1952-1971, p. 2-3. (RL, v. IV, pt. 2)

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Petrov made these observations on RL's conduct during this critical time: "This lack of clarity in political matters [in RL's policy] is an obvious shortcoming. It was clearly demonstrated during the Hungarian crisis in November 1956, when RL didn't know what to say. Actually, some foolish things were said. For example, appeals were made to the Soviet soldiers not to shoot the Hungarians because they also were building socialism; regrets were expressed because 'our' brave soldiers murdered Hungarian women and children; appeals were made to the members of the Communist Party and to the 'politrobтники' of the Army to stop the mass slaughter of the population." (Petrov, op. cit., pp. 112-113)

<sup>12</sup> Writing in 1958, Dr. Petrov commented: "Since most of the policies of RL consist of 'don'ts' and since the writers and editors are reduced to platitudes, RL suffers from a distinct lack of character." (Petrov, op. cit., pp. 110-111). However, in a commentary on the effects of the Hungarian crisis on RFE/RL, David Binder of The New York Times recently observed: "The crushing of the Hungarian

uprising in 1956 by Soviet armor also led to the crushing of cold-war agitation by Radio Free Europe and, in less dramatic form, at the Munich station aimed at the Soviet Union and then called Radio Liberation. At Radio Free Europe commentators and policy advisers were dismissed or shifted to innocuous jobs. Radio Liberation changed its name to Radio Liberty and gradually toned down its more aggressive commentators." (Binder, David. Embattled Radio Free Europe defends role. The New York Times, March 15, 1971, p. 10)

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-7. The moderation of RL and its commitment to the principle of evolutionary liberalization were evident in the following six "Immediate objectives" cited in the 1965 Policy Manual:

"1. to encourage practical, democratic political alternatives to Soviet practices;

"2. to encourage more rapid social and economic reforms and allocation of more economic resources for the benefit of Soviet consumers;

"3. to reassure listeners that democratic powers want peace and eschew aggression, but will defend themselves against aggression;

"4. to encourage the view that the Soviet Government should abandon world revolutionary aims and work more actively for peace and international cooperation;

"5. to undermine Communist ideology, showing that it does not promote the welfare of the peoples of the USSR, and to show that history points toward progress in freedom of all peoples;

"6. to encourage cultural diversity and freedom of exchange of ideas and travel."

<sup>16</sup> CFRC, RFE/RL Hearings, p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> Panfilov, Artem F. U.S. Radio in psychological warfare. Moscow, International Relations Publishing House, 1967. (Excerpts and bibliography translated by Radio Liberty)

<sup>18</sup> A recent pamphlet published by RL listed the following as members of the Board of Trustees: Henry V. Poor, Assistant Dean, Yale College of Law; Howland H. Sargeant, President, Radio Liberty Committee and former Assistant Secretary of State; Whitney N. Seymour, Chairman of the Board, Carnegie Endowment and former President, American Bar Association; John W. Studebaker, former U.S. Commissioner of Education; Reginald T. Townsend, Vice President, Radio Liberty Committee; William L. White, Editor and Publisher, Emporia Gazette, and Philip L. Wilkie, Attorney; Mrs. Oscar Ahlgren, former President, General Federation of Women's Clubs; John R. Burton, Chairman of the Board, National Bank of Far Rockaway; J. Peter Grace, President, W. R. Grace & Company; Allen Grover, former Vice President, Time-Life, Inc.; Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, U.S.A. (Ret.), former Allied Commander in Europe (NATO); Hon. John S. Hays, Communications Specialist and former U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland; H. J. Heinz II, Chairman of the Board, H. J. Heinz Company; Isaac Don Levine, Author and Specialist on Soviet Affairs.

<sup>19</sup> U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Report. 92d Congress, 1st Session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., July 30, 1971. Report No. 92-319, p. 2. Hereafter cited as "SFRC, RFE/RL Report."

<sup>20</sup> The special role of RL's New York operation, Oct. 1971, pp. 1-3. (RL, v. XII, pt. 3)

<sup>21</sup> SFRC, RFE/RL Report, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Radio Liberty. Guests in the Soviet home, 1970, p. 10. And, RL letter and telex, Nov. 12, 1971.

<sup>23</sup> Radio Liberty Visual Exhibits, Illustration 24. (RL, v. V, pt. 11.)

<sup>24</sup> Binder, David. Embattled Radio Free Europe Defends Role. The New York Times, March 15, 1971, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> Radio Liberty: An uncensored information medium for Soviet citizens, June 14,



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1971, p. 11. (RL, v. I.) Hereafter cited as, Radio Liberty Statement, June 14, 1971.

<sup>20</sup> In FY 1971, RL expended \$50,900 for training purposes. (Chart XVII, Training Expenditures, RL, v. V, pt. 12, p. 16)

<sup>21</sup> RL: Programming-language personnel. Total staff by prime language vs. current extended personnel plus retirement 1972-76, October 1971. The present strength of the Russians is 168; Ukrainians, 20, Belorussians, 12; Armenians, 7; Azerbaijanians, 7; Georgians, 8; Karachay, 1; and Tatar-Bashkir, 8. The anticipated percentage loss from retirement during the period 1972-76 is 27.9 percent for the Russians; 20.0 percent, Ukrainians; 33.3 percent, Belorussians; 14.3 percent Armenians; 14.3 percent Azerbaijanians; 37.6 percent, Georgians; 100 percent, Karachay; and 12.5 percent, Tatar-Bashkir.

<sup>22</sup> According to David Binder, "the average age of the Radio Free Europe employees is 45. It is perhaps a bit lower at Radio Liberty, where the director, Kenneth Scott, has recently hired several colorful Soviet defectors." (The New York Times, March 15, 1971, p. 10)

<sup>23</sup> Radio Liberty Statement, June 14, 1971, p. 11. (RL, v. I.)

<sup>24</sup> The future of Samizdat; Significance and Prospects, p. 29. (RL, v. II, D1)

<sup>25</sup> This section of the study is based upon, RL's technical facilities, pp. 1-3. (RL, v. III, pt. K)

<sup>26</sup> RL Basic briefing outline, p. 7. (RL, v. V, pt. 10)

<sup>27</sup> Frequency usage and facility occupation, Aug. 6, 1971. (RL, v. XI, pt. 8)

<sup>28</sup> RL, Guest, in the Soviet home, p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> RL Statement, June 14, 1971, pp. 17-18. (RL, v. I.)

<sup>30</sup> The future of samizdat, pp. 37-38. (RL, v. II, D1)

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>32</sup> Because of a sharp budget cut RL terminated the Institute at end of 1971.

<sup>33</sup> Institute for the Study of the USSR. Munich, Germany, Carl Gerber, 1969. 9 p.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> RL Statement, June 14, 1971, pp. 17-18. (RL, v. I.) See also part L, RL Research Bulletin, 1970 Index.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 25. Dr. Frederick C. Barghoorn, a leading American specialist on Soviet affairs and a Professor of Political Science at Yale University, commented: "As a scholar I have long admired and I have found most useful the research and publication activities of Radio Liberty. These information activities are very important to scholars, journalists, and other communicators not only in the United States but in Europe, Asia, South Africa, and other parts of the world." (SFRC, RFE/RL Hearings, p. 172.)

<sup>37</sup> SFRC, RFE/RL Report, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Figures, provided by GAO.

<sup>39</sup> SFRC, RFE/RL Report, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 2. The refusal of the Executive Branch to acknowledge publicly its role in funding RFE/RL was revealed in David Binder's report on both radios. Asked about the disclosure that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were financed by CIA, Mr. Binder said that Mr. Ralph Walter, the Munich director of RFE, declared: "Our broadcasting policies are made here in this house and are not guided by anyone in Washington. We are nobody's mouthpiece." An RL official concurred. (The New York Times, March 15, 1971, p. 10.)

## CHAPTER II: RL'S GOALS, POLICIES, AND POLICY FORMULATION

### I. RL'S OBJECTIVES

#### A. Ultimate goal: Democratization of Soviet Society

The primary objective of RL is very simply to encourage those forces of liberalization within Soviet society that will bring about an eventual peaceful evolution of the USSR

from its present form of Communist totalitarianism to a more tolerable and humane form of democracy. The ultimate goal is democratization of Soviet society in the expectation that within such liberalization lies the greatest hope for world peace.

Perhaps, this general objective was most succinctly and yet comprehensively set forth in RL's formal statement to Congress. It said: "Radio Liberty is a communications channel for Soviet citizens concerned about their country's future, and its place in the world community. It is dedicated to human rights, to peaceful evolution of Soviet society and to harmony in international relations."<sup>1</sup>

As an ultimate goal in broadcasting, RL directs its energies towards achieving the democratization of Soviet society. The Policy Manual of 1971 defined RL's ultimate goal in these terms: "to see all the peoples of the USSR acquire the opportunity to live in freedom with truly democratic political institutions, based on free election processes and guaranteed observance of human rights, and which represent the best interests of all citizens and assure for their country a normal, cooperative and constructive role within the comity of modern states."<sup>2</sup>

#### B. Commitment to peaceful change

RL's is, however, a commitment to peaceful change from within. It seeks to encourage liberal and progressive elements within Soviet society, seeing in these forces the greatest possibility for a Soviet Russia regenerated by the liberating spirit of genuine democracy. It rejects confrontation as an instrumentality in achieving its goals and fosters an approach to policy formulation and policy execution that is essentially benign in spirit, positive in direction, and pacifistic in its rejection of solutions by force.

Thus, RL is not now a Cold War operation in the sense that this term was used and understood in the 1950s and which well described its functions at that time. On the contrary, RL accepts Soviet institutions, though not its ideology, and seeks to bring about peaceful transformation within the system as it now exists.

#### C. RL's purposes

In seeking its ultimate goal of democratization, RL has a rather precise perception of how this should be done. It encourages the Soviet peoples to work together as a first step in instilling the habit of democracy. The expectation is that by mutual cooperation the Soviet peoples themselves can establish a democratic system that will not only be representative of and responsible to the will and aspirations of all, but also will be capable of sustaining their national interests and maintaining a viable economic structure.<sup>3</sup>

In assisting the Soviet people to achieve this goal, RL broadcasts to its listeners truthful information which will enable them to make up their own minds, form their own judgments, and reach their own independent conclusions on developments within their country. RL seeks, therefore, to relieve the Soviet people from their total dependency upon the regime as a source of information. Having monopolistic control over information and publicly expressed opinion, the ruling elite deprives Soviet citizens of access to information that would give them a more complete and truthful picture of reality. RL seeks to fill in these blank spaces of calculated omissions and correct distortions of official Soviet propaganda. Finally, RL urges the Soviet people to develop a sense of common cause and recognize that their concerns and vital interests are shared concerns and interests of many other Soviet citizens.<sup>4</sup>

In speaking for the genuine needs and best aspirations of its listeners, both Russian and non-Russian, RL emphasizes the importance of both historical continuity and the relevance of contemporary problems. For all Soviet peoples it assumes the obligation of

linking their past to the present and future in an effort to maintain the vigor of their historical and cultural legacies in the face of regime attempts to exploit them for propaganda purposes. Attuned to the requirements of history, RL thus relates the past to the present and future while concentrating on contemporary problems in Soviet society.<sup>5</sup>

#### D. RL's Immediate Objectives

Within this larger framework of goals and purposes, RL pursues immediate objectives that focus on such practical and positive themes as democratic political alternatives, economic reform, peaceful intentions of the democratic world, ideological irrelevance of Marxism-Leninism, and the virtue of cultural diversity and political pluralism.

As a primary immediate objective, RL tries to convince Soviet listeners that practical, democratic political alternatives to their present system do exist. It encourages them to work toward these alternatives in their own interest by asking questions, by seeking more information, by finding practical solutions to specific problems, and by uniting in common efforts to create internal pressures for change.<sup>6</sup> In brief, RL seeks to destroy the prevailing, officially-induced myth of a political system preordained by history and suggest pragmatic means for transformation.

RL also encourages among its listeners the belief that more rapid and equitable solutions are possible to their domestic economic and social problems, and to the problems of the nationalities. RL persuades them to press for basic economic reform and allocation of more economic resources for the benefit of the consumer. It also persuades the Soviet listener to press for the cultural needs of the various nationalities, including the Russian.<sup>7</sup>

In the realm of international relations, RL assures its listeners that the democratic powers of the world are pursuing foreign policies that are designed to achieve world peace and stability. It tries to convince the listener that, notwithstanding the constant claims of Soviet propaganda, none of these states has any intention of committing armed aggression against the USSR. Defense establishments are maintained, RL points out, in order to resist aggression by other world powers.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, RL tries to convince its listeners that by abandoning world revolutionary aspirations, moderating its aggressive foreign policies, and instituting a policy of more active international cooperation within the United Nations, the Soviet Government would do much to lessen the danger of thermonuclear war and to assure world peace.<sup>9</sup> Or said another way, adherence to the ideological principle of "struggle" and the advocacy of the conquest of power that flows from this belief, enhance the possibility of thermonuclear war, and only through Soviet moderation and cooperation in the United Nations will peace be assured.

In ideological matters, RL challenges the faith of Communist believers—both sincere and opportunistic—in their obsolescent ideology which as Marxism-Leninism contains the seeds of Soviet dictatorship. It tries to convince believers that Marxist philosophy as it has taken shape in the USSR has been perverted and in the course of time reduced to a collection of primitive dogmas. RL tries to show believers that the "revolutionary struggle" in the world today, so seminal to the concepts of Marxism-Leninism, does not coincide with their views or their interests. These would be better served, RL stresses, by the peaceful pluralistic development of societies under the rule of law, and in freedom for all peoples everywhere, including the peoples of the USSR.<sup>10</sup> In brief, RL challenges the faith of Marxist-Leninists as being outdated, irrelevant and contrary to the real interests of the Soviet people; it

against Mexican-Americans in the Southwest . . ."

The California Rural Legal Assistance Project documented the exclusion of Mexican-Americans from grand jury lists. They found a 12-year period in which 500,000 Spanish surnamed persons were eligible for grand jury duty in Los Angeles County, yet only four were chosen.

Perhaps the most disturbing incidents are those that still occur at the federal level. Why was it necessary for Senators to send telegrams to spur the Justice Department to investigate an assassination plot against Cesar Chavez?

And why was it necessary for Senators to remind the Labor Department that their own regulations prohibited importing foreign workers to break a farm worker strike?

And if we look at the Selective Service System, once again, we find inequities. Practically no change has occurred in the representation of the Spanish-speaking community on local and appeal boards. On local boards it was 2.9 percent in 1968, and today it is barely 4 percent. On appeals boards, it is even worse, barely over 3 percent. And when one looks at the states with heavy concentrations of Spanish-speaking, one finds only 4 of 88 appeal board members in California who are Spanish-speaking. In Colorado, none. In Arizona, none. In Florida, none. Yet these are the boards that the system provides to halt the egregious errors that many local boards commit. How can that cleansing function be fulfilled when none of the appeals boards can easily understand, let alone relate to a Spanish-speaking registrant?

Equal treatment under the law, a basic condition for maintaining the bond of citizenship, has been repeatedly and flagrantly denied to the Spanish-speaking and it is time to change.

These statistics demonstrate the need for the seminar that is taking place today. More than that, they demonstrate the absolute necessity for Spanish-speaking citizens to be active politically. For if you permit the political leadership of this country to continue to treat you as "strangers in your own land," then there will be a perennial list of unmet goals in education, housing, in employment, in access to the protection of the law.

The challenge not only lies with both parties to respond and to respond effectively. It lies also with you to force the parties to respond. And despite the tremendous resistance that undoubtedly exists, I believe that they can be made to respond.

But it means that you must take the initiative, that you must do the registering and organizing, that you must do the precinct work and the polling. And it is not just the federal elections that count. Governors choose boards of regions and state university directors. Sheriffs and district attorneys decide local law enforcement policies and city councilmen and mayors control the decisions that send funds to the manicured streets of the affluent few or the still-unpaved roads of the barrio.

The challenge is before you. It does not rest with those unwilling to risk something of themselves. Nor does it rest with those who demand that the struggle be easily won. It rests only with those ready to trade the comfort and convenience of the critic for the torment and sacrifice of the committed.

Yet you have among La Raza, many who already have shown the way. You have men such as Cesar Chavez, who has brought the farmworker of this nation his first hope for lasting dignity. The victory in Florida is part of a struggle that began not five or ten years ago, but two decades ago when the first organizing began.

And if that kind of commitment is made, then I believe there will be response. I believe there must be response.

Robert Kennedy shared that view. He walked through the barrios of East Los Angeles

and through the dusty fields of Delano. He was committed to change the conditions of poverty and discrimination he saw.

For he believed as I do, that this nation can never be free until there is no longer a child who cries from hunger or a mother who fears illness because she cannot afford a doctor, or a man who dies because the law does not see him as a man.

There is much to be done before we are free.

### RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, there are those who urge the dissolution of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. These persons say—correctly—that these stations are obnoxious to the Soviet Government. And they assume—implausibly—that dissolution of these stations would cause the Soviet Government to feel affectionately about us.

Even if such affection were likely, which, of course, it is not; and even if such affection were more precious than the satisfaction the stations bring to the oppressed people living under Soviet domination, which it is not, one would still want to note that not even Chancellor Brandt, whose enthusiasm for accommodation with the Soviets is nearly boundless, refuses to accede to the Soviet demand that the stations be expelled from German soil.

Mr. President, it is a tiresome but necessary chore to reiterate these self-evident truths in the face of palpable and unattractive delusions about the potential affability of the Soviet Union, and the sinfulness of any and all things that are obnoxious to Soviet despots.

But so that all Senators can consider this issue, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial from the London Sunday Times of February 27, 1972.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the London Sunday Times, Feb. 27, 1972]

#### IN DEFENCE OF RADIO FREE EUROPE

Senator Fulbright believes that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, operating from Munich, should be stopped from broadcasting to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union because they are "Cold War relics" and hinder detente. He is wrong on both counts. The radios abandoned the unfortunate policy of "liberating the captive peoples" in 1956 and now support Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik and all Communist reform movements in Eastern Europe. It is true that the Russians and their allies have consistently demanded that Brandt should expel the radios from Munich. But his refusal to do so has not stopped the Russians and the Poles from signing treaties with him, and the Czechoslovak-West German Treaty is held up by a dispute over the Munich Agreement of 1938, not over the radios. In fact, by their constantly objective coverage of West German events, the radios have done more than any other organisation to dispel amongst ordinary East Europeans the official Communist myth of "West German revanchism."

Fulbright argues, rather startlingly, that the radios are useless because "truth and freedom are indigenous and subjective issues and cannot be transferred from one people to another." That fashionable cynicism is disproved by Soviet hatred of the radios; it is precisely the "transference of truth"

that the Russians fear. The radios, whatever their imperfections, provide East Europeans with a far more reliable source of world and domestic news than their own, Government-controlled media. It would be a tragic and distasteful appeasement for the West to cut off that source at Soviet behest.

Fulbright's only useful suggestion is that Western Europe might play a part in financing the radios. They should close down only when, as in Dubcek's Prague Springs, East Europeans no longer need to listen to them; with the current KGB persecution of Soviet dissidents and Husak's campaign of intellectual genocide in Czechoslovakia, that day is sadly still far away.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial published in today's Wall Street Journal which asks "What's wrong with wanting to contribute to the free flow of ideas across international borders?"

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Mar. 6, 1972]

#### THREAT TO RADIO FREE EUROPE

We have difficulty understanding why Senator Fulbright is trying to deny Congressional appropriations to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. We are aware of his animus toward "cold war relics," but both stations have earned virtually unanimous praise for broadcasting objective news and impartial analysis.

There is obviously a crying need for such information, which RFE broadcasts in native languages to five Eastern European nations and which Radio Liberty broadcasts to the USSR in 17 Soviet languages. In effect, the stations function as a free press for some 300-million fettered people. Contrast that with the Communist bloc's unrelieved propaganda broadcasts, 900 hours a day in some 80 languages to every continent.

In the early and mid-50s, both stations were accused of adding to the tensions of the cold war. If so, that charge has not been true for at least 15 years. Indeed, former ambassador to Poland John Gronouski praised the accuracy and detail of RFE's coverage of the Polish uprisings of 1968 (uprisings that were ignored by the Polish media). And both stations gave factual reports on such important issues as the ouster of Khrushchev, the Cuban missile crisis, and the Nixon visit to China, stories that the Communist world ignored or downplayed.

There was a minor flap last year when it was revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency had secretly been subsidizing both stations, even as Washington insisted that they were privately financed. There was no evidence that the CIA ever interfered with program content, but such deception is inexcusable nonetheless—which is why President Nixon proposed that the stations be financed directly by Congress but run by an 11-member nonprofit corporation independent of government control.

Yet Mr. Fulbright objects even to that. And although both houses of Congress have passed authorization bills, he has managed to delay any conference for resolving the differences and thus keeping the stations alive. It is this opposition that we find hard to fathom. Does he also object to the Voice of America?

Although Senator Fulbright argues that the stations have no place in a period of East-West detente, we suspect that they have actually contributed to detente by helping to erode ideological suspicion born of ignorance and misinformation, and that abandoning them may prolong the East-

foreclosure comes within a year, the company has an \$800 return on the \$9,200.)

The homeowner packs up her children and belongings and resumes her search for decent housing, disenchanted with the American dream of home ownership and minus her down payment, possible closing costs and a few dollars in equity.

And the public which finances the scheme through monthly mortgage insurance payments under some FHA programs is out another few thousand dollars.

Abuses in FHA programs are not new.

Ironically, publicity on irregularities in one program—Section 235—caused the federal government to suspend that program while the much larger Section 221(d)(2) program continued unhampered on its abuse-filled way.

#### MAJOR FHA HOMEOWNERSHIP PROGRAMS

Here, briefly, are the major FHA home ownership programs:

Section 203—The largest of the programs, this is used to insure standard mortgages in stable neighborhoods. Application fees and mortgage insurance premiums paid by home buyers to the Mutual Mortgage Insurance Fund finance any foreclosures necessary under the program.

Section 221(d)(2)—This is the largest of the inner city home ownership programs. It provides for down payments as low as \$200 for persons displaced by governmental actions (urban renewal, highway building, etc.) and liberalizes credit requirements. Foreclosures are financed by the General Insurance Fund, funded through mortgage insurance premiums and fees from several FHA programs.

Section 223—A section used in combination with 221 or 203 which allows a house in a "reasonably viable" area to be insured for mortgage if one or more requirements of another section would preclude a mortgage under that section. Foreclosures are financed by the Special Risk Insurance Fund which is funded by premiums and fees from several FHA programs.

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Mar. 6, 1972]

#### EIGHTY-FOUR VACANT HOMES; 84 VACANT LOTS: ABUSE OF PROGRAM DOOMS NEIGHBORHOOD

(By Robert H. Teuscher and Harry E. Wilson, Jr.)

Eighty-four vacant lots testify mutely here to the abuses in a federal program designed to rehabilitate neighborhoods and put poor families into their own homes.

The lots are the tail-end of what has become an all-too-common urban phenomenon—blockbusting, real estate speculation, foreclosed mortgages, and the federal wrecking ball.

They represent one-third of all the foreclosures in the federal Section 221(d)(2) mortgage insurance program.

The houses that once stood on these lots were certified for 25 to 30-year mortgages only three and four years ago by appraisers from the St. Louis area office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

According to HUD regulations, houses should not be approved for federally insured mortgages unless the HUD appraiser finds them sound enough to stand for at least three-fourths of the term of their mortgages.

Yet an average of only 18 months after appraisal and sale with the federally insured mortgages, these 84 houses were sold to HUD for their insured values in foreclosure proceedings.

HUD then decided that the houses were either structurally unsound or too expensive to repair and demolished them.

The Section 221(d)(2) program that once financed these houses allows low-income

families in the inner city to purchase homes by providing mortgage insurance similar to the FHA or GI home mortgages used by millions of American families.

The program differs from standard mortgage plans by permitting down-payments as low as \$200 and by requiring rehabilitation of the homes before sale.

The program's track record has not been good.

The foreclosure rate here now stands at 8.63%, the fourth highest in the nation, according to HUD Secretary George Romney. (The foreclosure rate for standard mortgages is less than one-half of one percent.)

Paying off the foreclosed 221(d)(2) mortgages in the City of St. Louis has cost the federal government more than \$2.7 million. Repairing foreclosed homes for resale has cost another \$600,000, and demolition of the 84 houses has cost \$80,000.

HUD has been able to recoup only \$1.15 million on the resale of repaired houses or vacant lots.

Real estate speculators and mortgage companies, however, have turned tidy, and sometimes immense, profits, records show.

In the meantime several stable neighborhoods have been ruined.

The Eads and St. Vincent avenue neighborhood, in the shadow of Firmin Desloge Hospital on the Near South Side, is an example of the blight that follows a combination of speculators and 221(d)(2) mortgage insurance.

As late as 1967, this was a blue-collar, middle-class area, made up of single and two-family brick homes that were nearing the end of their useful lives.

Norman Keathley, who lived at 2926 Eads since 1943, described the area as a "poor, but respectable neighborhood, with working class people."

But in early 1968, conditions, particularly crime, took a turn for the worse, according to former neighbors.

"They (vandals) tore the copper guttering right off my house in broad daylight," Francis Green, formerly of 2829 Eads said, "I figured it wasn't safe for the kids anymore."

Asked about the sale of houses in the area, Green said, "I figured blockbusting was what was going on. I hope they catch them (the speculators) at it so it won't happen here (at his new house in South St. Louis)."

At the same time that things turned bad on Eads and St. Vincent, a group of real estate companies moved in.

Between September, 1968, and June, 1970, 23 houses on Eads and St. Vincent were sold to real estate firms, who then resold the houses under the 221(d)(2) program.

The houses were bought by the realty firms for an average of \$5,000, with some going for as little as \$1,000.

When the real estate firms resold the houses several months later to 221(d)(2) families, the average going price was \$10,000.

Each of the houses had been appraised at an average of \$10,000, the sale price, by HUD appraisers, and the appraisers had also certified that the houses were good for 20-30 year mortgages.

Today every one of those houses is a vacant lot.

And there are 27 other vacant lots on Eads and St. Vincent, all of which were run through federal mortgage programs similar to the 221(d)(2) mortgage insurance.

HUD officials are not sure how the houses which were old in the first place, ended up in such condition to require demolition.

The reason could have been mismanagement or abuse by the homeowner, or a faulty HUD appraisal, in the first place, according to George O. Hipps, director of HUD's Single Family and Land Development Division in Washington, D.C.

Who were the winners in this example of speculation and blight?

The original owners were forced to sell at rock bottom prices for fear of crime and speculation.

The 221(d)(2) families lost all of their equity in homes they could not afford, and most of them are now ineligible for any other federal housing programs.

The Record for Section 221(d)(2) in St. Louis Home mortgages insured (1967-June, 1971)----- 2,144  
Foreclosures (Jan. 1972)----- 265  
Foreclosures (percentage)----- 8.63  
Cost of mortgage payoffs----- \$2,705,000  
Repairs after foreclosure----- \$662,474  
Demolitions----- \$80,610  
HUD recoup from resales----- \$1,155,700

#### RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. President, the Library of Congress has completed its reports on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The reports were delivered to the Committee on Foreign Relations on Friday, March 3, at 5 p.m.

In view of the controversy surrounding these reports and the allegations that I and members of the committee staff have tried to suppress this information or alter its presentation, I ask unanimous consent to have the reports, plus my correspondence with the Library, included in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks. The appendices to the reports, numbering several hundred additional pages, are in the committee's files and are available to the public, as are the draft versions of the reports.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. President, this work is the result of a request which I sent to the Library on June 8, 1971. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Charles Gellner, Chief, Foreign Affairs Division, and Mr. James Price, analyst in National Defense, both of the Library of Congress, met with Mr. Robert Dockery of the committee staff for the purpose of discussing the request. Following this meeting, Mr. Dockery was informed by the Library that two studies would be prepared, one on each of the Radios, that Mr. Price would be responsible for the Radio Free Europe study and that Dr. Joseph Whelan, Specialist in Soviet and East European Affairs of the Library, would be responsible for the Radio Liberty study. At approximately the same time, Mr. Dockery was informed that, at Mr. Price's suggestion, an independent consultant, specialized in audience research analysis techniques, would be brought in to evaluate the Radios' audience-response claims.

At my request, the Library agreed to include in the final reports a résumé on each of the research participants.

The researchers completed their drafts during the first part of January and Mr. Gellner forwarded them to Mr. Dockery on January 14. In his transmittal memo, Mr. Gellner clearly identified the status of the reports by noting:

We will be happy to have your comments before we put the studies into final shape and formally transmit them. Our review of these drafts has not yet been completed and we too will wish to make some changes.

## RADIO FREE EUROPE

Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 6, 1972

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, the deadlock between the House and the Senate over legislative authorization for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty still continues, and it is a matter of widening concern. An article by Flora Lewis in the Boston Evening Globe illuminates the problem from an American viewpoint, and an editorial from the London Daily Telegraph expresses British concern for the fate of the two radios. The latter editorial correctly notes that the present impasse is in no way the fault of this body.

Editorials also appeared today in the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal. The text of all these editorials follows:

[From the Boston Globe, Feb. 25, 1972]

FULBRIGHT SILENCES TWO U.S. VOICES

(By Flora Lewis)

WASHINGTON.—Unless Congress acts by the end of the month, the semi-official American radio stations broadcasting to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will be shut down.

That is precisely the aim of Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who has maneuvered to kill the stations by legislative impasse cutting off their funds.

"These radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold war relics," Fulbright told the Senate.

The two are Radio Free Europe, which own languages, and regularly publishes careful research on those countries in broadcasts from 12 to 20 hours a day to the nations of Eastern Europe in their English. Radio Liberty performs the same functions but focuses on the Soviet Union.

Both were started at the beginning of the '50s and, as Fulbright says belatedly, they were major weapons of the cold war. Further, they were secretly funded by the CIA, although Free Europe also received public contributions.

The irony of Fulbright's position is that both these faults have been corrected. The two radios now operate aboveboard. More important, they have come to provide a vital, straightforwardly informative service far superior to the U.S. Government's own foreign broadcasting system, the Voice of America.

Last year, Sen. Clifford Case (R-N.J.) finally made Free Europe and Liberty honest radios with a bill ending their dependence on the CIA budget. They are now financed through State Department appropriations open to public scrutiny. That was not ideal, since it exposed them to more political and propaganda controls than the previous secret, but essentially autonomous, arrangement with the CIA.

State wisely decided that it would be better to set the radios up as quasi-independent systems, similar to the domestic Public Broadcasting System. In that way, the professional judgment of their excellent and sober staffs would be better insulated from improper influence.

A bill to this effect passed the House. But Fulbright got a bill through the Senate keeping State in charge until the end of the fiscal year, when he hoped to cut off the funds altogether. The two houses have failed to reach a conference agreement, so the radios are due to be silenced this week.

It would be a grave loss, both to the people of Eastern Europe and the scholars and researchers of the United States. The radios are no longer the strident propaganda trumpets of their early years. Since the Hungarian revolution of 1956, when they reviewed their role and drastically changed their policies, they have been serious and reliable sources of information and analysis which the people of Eastern Europe are totally denied by their governments. Of course, Moscow and its allies don't like that.

Silencing Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty would simply amount to collaborating with those governments to silence dissent and keep their peoples ignorant.

The annual appropriation required for both is \$36 million. Sen. Fulbright compared it to the \$44 million which Voice of America's worldwide operation cost. But VOA broadcasts only a few hours a day, and very different material—banal, official sometimes biased governmentese.

If the point is economy, then it would be far better to drop VOA and let the two effective radios keep broadcasting. A special Library of Congress study, asked to evaluate Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty by Fulbright's committee, came up with the answer that they were very good indeed, no doubt the opposite of what Fulbright hoped to hear.

And if the point is to call off the cold war and deal more openly and sensibly with the Communist countries, then it would also be better to preserve the two autonomous radios and kill the US government propaganda service.

If Fulbright's purpose is achieved, the result would not be to bury cold war relics but to help preserve the dark silence of the cold war in Eastern Europe.

[From the (London) Daily Telegraph.

Feb. 23, 1972]

## FREEDOM'S VOICE IN PERIL

A disgraceful surrender of the West's right to broadcast objective news and comment across the Iron Curtain is about to take place unless the American Government acts quickly and firmly to stop it. Funds have been cut off from Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, both based in Munich, which for over 20 years have been transmitting to the satellite countries, and also to Russia in the main languages of the Soviet Union. As was recently nearly the case with American foreign aid, the cut-off is a result of a dispute in Congress.

Senator FULBRIGHT is in his usual role of leading the appeasers. A year ago he succeeded in stopping the provision of funds for the two stations by the Central Intelligence Agency. The State Department took over the responsibility on a year-to-year basis. The Senator now seems within an ace of blocking the voting of funds for the coming year, in which case the stations would have to close down within a fortnight. He says that this would put them "in their rightful place in the churchyard of cold war relics."

Is it "cold warfare" to broadcast the truth to the peoples of the Communist dictatorships? Is it wrong to give them samples of Western culture and entertainment, to seek to correct the dangerous, perverse and malicious slanders about the allegedly aggressive war-like West with which they are fed by their governmental propaganda machines? Do the Communist regimes, in the barrage of vicious propaganda against the West with which they crowd the channels day and night, ask whether they are offending the susceptibilities of the societies it is their intention to disintegrate? The West has the obligation, to itself and to subject peoples everywhere, to testify to democracy. Radio, as millions behind the Iron Curtain will gratefully confirm, is the ideal means of communication in the circumstances. It must not be silenced.

[From the New York Times]

## A SENATE MAJORITY SPEAKS

A majority of the members of the United States Senate has sponsored a resolution designed to back continuation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

What makes the move extraordinary is that the primary immediate aim of the sponsors is to put pressure on the Senate's conferees to end their deadlock with House conferees on this issue, a stalemate that threatens the swift demise of both these major communications links to Eastern Europe. Now that a majority of the Senate has spoken, there can be no moral basis for the continued obduracy of that chamber's conferees.

Their present tactics, if successful in terminating these broadcasts, can only benefit the Kremlin. Its bitter enmity to these radio voices has long emphasized their importance in filling a communications void by providing information otherwise unavailable.

[From the Wall Street Journal]

## THREAT TO RADIO FREE EUROPE

We have difficulty understanding why Senator Fulbright is trying to deny Congressional appropriations to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. We are aware of his animus toward "cold war relics," but both stations have earned virtually unanimous praise for broadcasting objective news and impartial analysis.

There is obviously a crying need for such information, which RFE broadcasts in native languages to five Eastern European nations and which Radio Liberty broadcasts to the USSR in 17 Soviet languages. In effect, the stations function as a free press for some 300-million fettered people. Contrast that with the Communist bloc's unrelieved propaganda broadcasts, 900 hours a day in some 80 languages to every continent.

In the early and mid-50s, both stations were accused of adding to the tensions of the cold war. If so, that charge has not been true for at least 16 years. Indeed, former ambassador to Poland John Gronowski praised the accuracy and detail of RFE's coverage of the Polish uprisings of 1968 (uprisings that were ignored by the Polish media). And both stations gave factual reports on such important issues as the ouster of Khrushchev, the Cuban missile crisis, and the Nixon visit to China, stories that the Communist world ignored or downplayed.

There was a minor flap last year when it was revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency had secretly been subsidizing both stations, even as Washington insisted that they were privately financed. There was no evidence that the CIA ever interfered with program content, but such deception is inexcusable nonetheless—which is why President Nixon proposed that the stations be financed directly by Congress but run by an 11-member nonprofit corporation independent of government control.

Yet Mr. Fulbright objects even to that. And although both houses of Congress have passed authorization bills, he has managed to delay any conference for resolving the differences and thus keeping the stations alive. It is this opposition that we find hard to fathom. Does he also object to the Voice of America?

Although Senator Fulbright argues that the stations have no place in a period of East-West detente, we suspect that they have actually contributed to detente by helping to erode ideological suspicion born of ignorance and misinformation, and that abandoning them may prolong the East-West tension the Senator so passionately denounces. In any event, what's wrong with wanting to contribute to the free flow of ideas across international borders?

6 MAR 1972

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STATINTL

## Voices in the Air

## Listening to Radio Free Europe

By JOSEPH R. L. STERNE

Bonn.

The scene at Warsaw's international airport one day last April was more Marx Brothers than Karl Marx.

Decked out in khaki and red trim uniform, one of the airport's security officers came trundling along carrying a foot-high stack of research papers published by Radio Free Europe. With a flourish he handed them to a fuming American newsman who had missed a plane to Budapest because customs officials had become inquisitive about the contents of his briefcase.

"No," said the newsman, who feared that Hungarian police would have been notified of the incident. "I suggest you keep it."

The Polish officer smiled, winked and replied: "I don't need the stuff. I hear it all on the radio anyway."

A bit of Polish hyperbole? Well, hardly. It is common knowledge in Poland that the only way to have a glimmering of what is really going on in the country is to listen to Radio Free Europe.

One American sociologist who spent some time in a Polish village found that four out of five households tuned in regularly to RFE. The Munich-based station estimates its Polish listenership at 60 per cent of persons over the age of 14 (and it is a near certainty that among the most avid members of the audience are party leaders who dislike being prisoners of their own propaganda system). In Poland's capital, RFE is humorously called "Warsaw IV" because the regime has a lock on the city's three local stations.

If Senator Fulbright succeeds in silencing RFE, which transmits to five Eastern European countries, and Radio Liberty, a sister sta-

tion aimed at the Soviet Union, this would be a development of considerable magnitude for millions of listeners in the Warsaw Pact area.

Neither Voice of America, nor BBC, nor Deutsche Welle, nor Radio Vatican nor Radio Paris is presently equipped to fill the vacuum that would result. These networks beam excellent surveys of world news in native languages to the Communist-ruled nations and BBC especially, provides respected commentary on affairs concerning its target areas.

But only Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty provide an abundance of programs with a home-grown flavor for a home audience. RFE's ability to do this and capture a lion's share of the radio audience in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania is a reflection of the kind of people working in its austere, white building on the edge of Munich's lovely English gardens.

While Americans hold the ultimate policy-control posts at RFE, the departments handling broadcasts and writing research papers are manned by Eastern Europeans who have left their native lands. This is a system with obvious built-in dangers and advantages.

In their anti-Communist zeal, such employees gave a cold warrior image during the early and mid-1950's that has hurt the organization to this day. Senator Fulbright's speeches in his campaign to deny the radios any U.S. government funding attest to that. But in their mother-tongue command of 19 languages and in their knowledge of their homelands, the Eastern Europeans on the RFE staff

provide an authenticity that is the basis for the wide acceptance of their programs.

As the official goal of RFE has been transformed through the years from "liberation" to "liberalization," the ideological content of RFE has become less polemical.

During a few days in mid-February, for example, the Bulgarian service dealt with promising new school reforms but reported on continuing sentiment for a longer mandatory period of school attendance. The Polish service dealt with the trials of some security officers, suggesting they were politically motivated. The Hungarian service voiced skepticism about new efforts to increase productivity that do not delineate a worker's personal stake in such efforts. The Czechoslovak service concentrated on implications of the crackdown against journalists of the Dubcek era.

The tone, thus, is often critical but its thrust is reformist rather than revolutionary. Most research documents and many broadcasts either are starkly objective or assume a tone of sympathetic encouragement if there is evidence of liberalization.

RFE broadcasters and researchers get much of their information by poring through national and local newspapers, by listening to monitored broadcasts and by tapping private channels of information from the Soviet bloc. In its libraries are one million index cards.

In addition, RFE has a newsroom manned chiefly by Americans who keep a watch on the material of all major news agencies, East and West, and provide the broad-

casting units with material for their international news surveys. RFE staffers and stringers are found in most free-world news centers.

All this suggests an enormous operation—and it is. According to RFE statistics, the station has almost 1,600 employees (mostly in Munich), uses 32 transmitters in Portugal and West Germany with a total power of 2,245,000 watts, broadcasts 77 hours daily on its five services, monitors 40 Communist stations, subscribes to 900 different publications and consumes 48 million sheets of paper annually.

With an audience of nearly 31 million persons—ranging from 60 per cent of the over-14 listeners in Poland to 45 per cent in Czechoslovakia, RFE is far and away the most popular voice in Eastern Europe, as the jamming efforts of the Communist regimes attest. The Czechoslovak people turned to it during the Soviet-led invasion of 1968. RFE was a prime source of the news that Polish authorities tried to suppress during the Baltic seaport upheavals of late 1970.

Thus if Radio Free Europe is a relic of the cold war, as Senator Fulbright suggests, it is not a moribund relic and its burial would be a wrenching affair for many, many people.

Any American who has spent any time in Eastern Europe knows what a comfort it is to switch on his transistor and catch the "Yankee Doodle Dandy" theme that signals VOA and its world news roundup.

Many a Polish citizen who has a low regard for the controlled press at home perhaps has even stronger emotions as he hears a melody by Moniuszko which means that "Radia Wolna Europa" is on the air.



## Radio Free Europe and Liberty

An article by Joseph R. L. Sterne, published in adjoining columns, provides an illuminating account of the work being done by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and the significant way in which they supplement the European broadcasts of the Voice of America. All of these are voices of America, in the sense that they are financed by the United States government and hence the American people. For years a pretense was maintained that Radio Free Europe depended on voluntary financial contributions to operate when in fact it was being financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. At the insistence of Senator Case of New Jersey the C.I.A. financing was both disclosed and halted, and now Senator Fulbright of Arkansas is making a strong effort to stop the federal government from continuing these stations through open, public appropriations.

Mr. Sterne's article shows per-

suasively, it seems to us, that Radio Free Europe in particular is doing important work that is not being done now by the Voice of America, and that it is established as a major source of news and information in the countries of Eastern Europe in which the press and radio are controlled and operated by authoritarian governments. Much the same applies to Radio Liberty, which aims its broadcasts at the people of the Soviet Union.

At issue now in Washington is the future of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. A bill passed by the Senate would fund the two stations only until June 30, the end of the current fiscal year. A bill passed by the House of Representatives, and endorsed by the Nixon administration, would appropriate funds for another year, until June 30, 1973, and set up an independent agency to administer the stations. The legislation rests now in a Senate-House conference committee, with Mr. Fulbright urg-

ing an end to the stations and resisting the House provision. The cost of the stations is put at about \$35 million a year.

Mr. Fulbright argues that the stations are relics of the cold war and have no place in present American policy. But it can also be argued that the broadcasts have had a part in the development of present policy and, indeed, help to reinforce it now. It would be a mistake to cut the stations off the air this month, as apparently will happen if the conference committee impasse is not broken. A common-sense solution would be to continue the stations for another year, as proposed by the House and the Nixon administration, and in the meantime either modify the present operations of the Voice of America to the extent that they duplicate the two radio services, or merge the operations so that the strong points of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are maintained.

## RADIO FREE EUROPE: Station Break?

For two decades, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have been household words throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. To many millions of people in the Communist bloc, in fact, the two American-financed stations have often been the sole source of unvarnished information about events around the world. This, not surprisingly, has made them constant targets for the wrath of Communist authorities. Forbidding their citizens to listen to these voices of "bourgeois ideology," the Soviet and East European governments have sought to jam the offending broadcasts. Their jamming efforts have largely failed and their prohibitions have been ignored. Last week, however, the Communists got an unexpected assist from Washington when the U.S. Congress failed to extend government financing of the stations.

The trouble began a year ago when New Jersey Sen. Clifford Case revealed that while Radio Free Europe (which broadcasts to Eastern Europe) and Radio Liberty (which is beamed to the Soviet Union) both claimed to be privately financed, the bulk of their money actually came from the Central Intelligence Agency. Although this fact had long been an open secret, its public disclosure touched off a furor, since it fueled Communist charges that the two stations were propaganda organs of the U.S. Government. While an embarrassed Administration promptly transferred control of the stations' budget from the CIA to the U.S. Information Agency, Congress began to debate the organizations' ultimate fate. Recently, the House of Representatives approved an authorization of \$35 million until June 1973, while a nongovernmental means of funding was studied. But under the prodding of Sen. William Fulbright, chairman of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee, the Senate balked.

In Fulbright's view, the disclosure of CIA backing underscored the fact that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty had deceived both their Iron Curtain listeners and the American people about their true nature. Contending that both stations were an anachronism in an era of budding East-West rapprochement, the Arkansas senator thundered: "These radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold-war relics." And with that, he announced himself opposed to funding the two stations beyond next June.

**Slogans:** Defenders of the stations argued that it was Sen. Fulbright himself who was out of step with reality. They admitted that immediately after the stations were set up in Munich in the early 1950s, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty dedicated themselves to encouraging the citizens of Eastern Europe to "roll back" Communism—a policy that helped to spark the ill-fated Hungarian revolt of 1956. But following the Hungarian uprising, the stations changed their tune. Trading their old slogan of "liberation" for a new one of "liberalization," they have sought to enlighten their audiences with objective accounts of events suppressed by the heavily censored Communist media—a practice that has made the East European press discuss subjects it would otherwise ignore.

With their combined staffs of some 2,400 putting out 1,000 hours of broadcasting in 25 languages a week, the stations also have become a prime means of disseminating documents written by Soviet and East European dissidents that have been smuggled abroad. In support of present programming, partisans of the station quoted a recent letter from a Soviet scientist which said: "Radio Liberty is what a Russian station would have been like if we had freedom of speech."

**Adamant:** All of this was known to Senator Fulbright. For he had himself commissioned a Library of Congress study of the two stations that, contrary to his expectations, praised the professionalism of their staffs and the quality of their broadcasts and research reports, which are used by scholars all over the world. The study concluded that the demise of the stations would constitute a severe blow to the flow of information in the Communist world. Despite this, however, Fulbright remained adamant in his opposition to the stations. "The senator," said a staff member, "would like to see the whole operation liquidated." And, perhaps inevitably, no major Congressional figure seemed prepared to be as active in defending the stations as Fulbright has been in attacking them. Accordingly, although RFE and Radio Liberty have enough funds to stay on the air for several more weeks, it seems quite possible that, in the end, the senator from Arkansas may succeed in silencing them.

6 MAR 1972

STATINTL

## A Senate Majority Speaks

A majority of the members of the United States Senate has sponsored a resolution designed to back continuation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

What makes the move extraordinary is that the primary immediate aim of the sponsors is to put pressure on the Senate's conferees to end their deadlock with House conferees on this issue, a stalemate that threatens the swift demise of both these major communications links to Eastern Europe. Now that a majority of the Senate has spoken, there can be no moral basis for the continued obduracy of that chamber's conferees.

Their present tactics, if successful in terminating these broadcasts, can only benefit the Kremlin. Its bitter enmity to these radio voices has long emphasized their importance in filling a communications void by providing information otherwise unavailable.



6 MAR 1972

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STATINTL

## Letters to the Editor

### Save Radio Free Europe

To the Editor:

In connection with your Feb. 22 editorial "Saving Free Voices," I would like to emphasize that the liquidation of Radio Free Europe either by extinction or by policy decision would be interpreted by the peoples of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania as the final recognition by the United States of the present status quo and of the permanency of the Soviet rule in East Europe.

Surely, it would not kill their striving for independence but, paradoxically, might result in shifting their hopes toward the People's Republic of China, which alone of the great powers shows some interest in East European countries regaining their independence. This interest was demonstrated by several announcements of the Peking Government and, not so long ago, by the vehement condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia by the present Chinese delegation to the United Nations. It is also being demonstrated by Radio Peking broadcasts to East Europe and by Radio Tirana broadcasts to Poland.

In addition, the closing of Radio Free Europe would represent an unwarranted gift to Soviet Russia, which through its own and satellite facilities pours "hate America" propaganda 900 hours daily in 78 languages.

STEFAN KORBONSKI  
Chairman, Assembly of  
Captive European Nations  
New York, Feb. 22, 1972

An editorial on this subject appears today.

## FUND CUTOFF NEARS

STATINTL

## Free Voice to East Threatened by Its Friends

OSGOOD CARUTHERS

VIENNA

They aren't quite dead yet but the death knell is tolling for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. For a quarter of a century they have been beaming uncensored information to millions living in the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe.

The lives of these two U.S. government-supported organizations are being sacrificed to the euphoria surrounding the desire for an East-West detente by the powerful chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.).

Picking up the cudgel from those who successfully halted part of the financing of these organizations from the secret funds of the Central Intelligence Agency and made all government support of them a subject for continuing congressional approval, Fulbright now wants Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty closed down altogether.

And unless the general public and Congress are persuaded that these

*Based in Vienna, Times staff writer Caruthers covers much of Eastern Europe.*

two organizations are the most effective means the West has ever had for keeping free information flowing to the Communist-ruled nations of Eastern Europe, he may succeed.

For Radio Free Europe, which beams news and information broadcasts to five of the Communist-ruled countries outside the Soviet Union, and Radio Liberty, which broadcasts exclusively to the people of the Soviet Union, have sufficient funds left to keep them going for only a month.

Contributions from private individuals and public organizations form only a small part of the required support for the two organizations. They are now waiting with faint hope, indeed, for an apparently indifferent Congress to vote new government funds for them.

If the funds are not forthcoming, an estimated 31 million listeners over the age of 14 in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria, and more in the Soviet Union, will be de-

nied a Western source of news, reviews of the Western press and commentaries on affairs in their own countries and throughout the world.

In a letter to the editor of the Times of London, author Anatoly Kuznetsov, who defected to England from the Soviet Union three years ago, wrote in fervent defense of Radio Liberty, which, he said, had been the principal source of truth for Soviet intellectuals.

"But Radio Liberty is something unsurpassable, said the writer after praising the British Broadcasting Corp.'s Russian service. "It is the voice of fellow countrymen who live in the free world, a voice which is not subject to Soviet censorship and which openly speaks about our special problems in the Soviet Union. One of the most fervent wishes of the KGB (the Soviet secret police) is to destroy Radio Liberty."

Independent newspapers of all political colors (with the exception of the Communist press, of course) have risen editorially to the defense of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in Britain and throughout Western Europe. They have done so despite the common knowledge that these organizations once got part of their funds from the CIA and, even more importantly, despite the fact that many political leaders have based their government's policies on a platform of detente and peaceful coexistence with the Soviet bloc.

The socialist government of Chancellor Willy Brandt in West Germany has stood up to tremendous political pressure from the Soviet Union to close down the operations of the two broadcasting organizations, which both have their headquarters in the Bavarian capital of Munich. Brandt has thus far refused to bow to these pressures despite his eagerness to push ahead with his Ostpolitik. This has been true despite crudely unsubtle hints from Moscow that the Kremlin might be more pliable on such critical matters as Berlin and on better trade relations between the Soviet bloc and West Germany if Brandt closed the two stations.

The very vehemence with which the Eastern European propaganda machinery has for years been using abuse on RFE and Radio Liberty is the most vivid testimony

to the effectiveness of the broadcasts from Munich to the people behind the Iron Curtain.

The estimated \$31 million required to keep the two organizations going is paltry compared to the budgets of most national networks. About \$20 million of this is needed by the larger RFE, which in addition to its native American staff employs about 350 refugees from the five Communist bloc countries to which it broadcasts. One hundred of these refugee employees have become U.S. citizens and many others are working toward that end.

Besides its broadcasts in the languages of the target countries, RFE monitors radio broadcasts of these countries. It also combs a major part of the press from the capitals and the provinces of the countries concerned. It compiles from all of this a vast wealth of reference material that has been invaluable to scholars, newsmen and politicians throughout the West. Thus it provides a source of knowledge and understanding of what is going on inside those closed societies that no other organization or government agency has been able so effectively to provide.

Fulbright has grounded his opposition to RFE and Radio Liberty on the charge that they are, as he put it, anachronistic remnants of the cold war. But thus far he has not called in a single official of Radio Free Europe from its Munich operation to hear the other side of the argument.

The Soviet propaganda machine continues tirelessly to demand the demise of the two organizations, while at the same time the voices from Moscow, Prague, Warsaw, Budapest, Bucharest and Sofia carry on a relentless campaign of vituperation against the United States.

This suggests that despite the verbal pledges of peaceful coexistence and a desire for detente, the cold war is not really ended. The American-sponsored operations in Munich do not return such vituperation but do offer some light to the Soviet bloc peoples.

If the pressure in Washington to choke off these two organizations succeeds, it will mean that what have failed to do through years of one-sided pressures will have been accomplished for them—gratis.

HARTFORD,  
TIMES

MAR 4 1972

E &amp; S - 135,812

## Observer at large

# *New Hope; new prices; old Radio Free Europe*

By DON O. NOEL JR.

Editor, Editorial Page

I'VE HAD little recent contact with Radio Free Europe, and none with Radio Liberty. But I'm inclined to think Senator William Fulbright is nearer right than Rep. Robert Steele on the question of extending federal funding of these propaganda stations overseas.

My first contact was with an ex-RFE (Radio Free Europe) broadcaster a few months after the abortive Hungarian uprising of 1956. He'd been urging the Hungarians to revolt for months, he told me, and broadcasting that the United States could be counted on to come to their aid. When Hungarians rose and fell on their own, his stomach heaved, and he quit.

More recently, in Romania in 1967, I encountered an enthusiastic high school student who raved over Radio Free Europe, and who seemed to think the streets of the United States were paved with gold. I quizzed him a bit about what seemed a too-facile swallowing of rosy propaganda, and asked him whether he also listened to the BBC (British Broadcasting Company) and VOA (Voice of America) programs. Both were readily heard, and not jammed.

No, he told me. They were too tame. He liked to be told how terrible his country was, and how great ours was, without any qualifications.

There may have been a time when such programming had a function. Our government clearly thought so; the CIA for years has provided most of their support, although they were purportedly privately run by concerned Americans. It's only in the last year that Congress has forced the funding into the open.

Whatever the past justification, the time has come to quit. We can't propagandize the whole world. If we must have transmitters beaming our view of the news to countries with closed systems, shouldn't we telecast news of Mr. Nixon's Peking visit to the Taiwanese, who were allowed no news of the trip? Shouldn't we force some honest reporting into Greece, whose military junta has suppressed free comment? Where do we stop?

The place to stop is before we start. The Voice of America has an entirely adequate program of straight news, American music, bits of Americana. That's enough.

8 MAR 1972

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International

STATINTL

# 'Dissenter' handful among Soviets be

By MIKE DAVIDOW

## 'Made in U.S.' stamp

Who are the Soviet "dissenters?" Even the U.S. capitalist press has to admit they are a pitiful handful. Dusko Doder, Assistant Foreign Editor of the Washington Post and formerly UPI Moscow correspondent pointed out (Int. Herald Tribune, Feb. 8, 1971): "The dissident movement is so small that most observers regard it as being without political significance." But the U.S. capitalist press has gone all out on this totally unrepresentative handful, precisely to manufacture political controversy.

The fact is, they hardly cause a ripple in the Soviet Union, not withstanding the massive use made of the dissenters by the CIA-sponsored Voice of America and Radio Free Europe.

The truth is that the blown-up image of Soviet dissent bears the trade mark—made in the U.S.A. Robert Kaiser hints at this in the International Herald Tribune (Jan. 27) when he notes that the Western news organizations in Moscow comprise "the single most attentive audience to the confusing spectacle of political dissent in the Soviet Union."

Doder is much more to the point. He confesses that the stories sent by Moscow, correspondents of the capitalist press "have created a somewhat distorted picture of a Soviet Union populated by angry poets and scientists." But notwithstanding this frank admission, such distortions continue to come from the typewriters of correspondents.

Some dissenters portray themselves as representing the new rather than the old society. In fact they try to lay claim to being the best and most advanced representatives of the future since they supposedly want to make socialism in the Soviet Union more "humane and democratic." But their pretenses are exposed by their alliances. On whom do they depend to bring about their "more humane and more democratic" socialism? On that great revolutionary and democratic force—U.S. imperialism and its press.

The relationship between the "dissidents" and the U.S. capitalist press is a calculating one on both sides. More, it is an "alliance" which Doder describes as an arrangement of "mutual convenience."

The Soviet dissenters and U.S. press have another thing in common. Both are doing their utmost to use the tragic mistakes committed during the cult of the personality period, viewed by the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people as past history, to besmirch the tremendous human achievements of Soviet society, to slander the role played by the Soviet Communist Party and its leaders, and to boost bourgeois democracy as the only real democracy. This is still done in the name of "democratizing" socialism since one could hardly get very far here with open appeals for bourgeois democracy.

Both dissenters and the U.S. press in fact try to use past mistakes as a club over the heads of Soviet state bodies. When the Soviet judicial authorities respond to brazen violations of their country's laws with penalties, the cry of "Stalinist repression" is trumpeted to the world by the powerful U.S. propaganda machine.

The U.S. press has tried to picture these acts of law enforcement as massive repression in an obvious attempt to take some of the heat off the truly mass repression of democratic rights in the U.S. today. But even Kaiser had to admit the difficulty of making this charge stick when he noted the "crackdown" has "directly touched less than 35 people."

Much can also be gathered from the character of some of the correspondents who blossomed out as fervent champions of Soviet dissenters. Take William Cole, the CBS man who smuggled out a recent filmed interview with a dissident.

I was present at a dinner in late fall, 1939, at the home of John Dornberg of Newsweek (since expelled from the Soviet Union)

when the expulsion of a Canadian correspondent was being discussed. All admitted that the "source" for the Canadian correspondent's anti-Soviet tripe came from his Moscow mistress. But that didn't seem to bother Cole or his colleagues.

The Canadian correspondent, they noted ruefully, made a mistake. His timing was wrong. An expulsion can be very helpful as advance publicity for a book on the Soviet Union, providing one has already managed to stay long enough to give the impression of expertise, they all agreed.

I was with Cole in Tashkent in December of 1969. One would think the big story there was how the entire Soviet people rebuilt the Uzbek capital which was largely destroyed in an earthquake in 1966. But the interest of Cole and other correspondents of the capitalist press was in other directions.

They were on a hunt for so-called Tatar "dissidents" that to Cole and his colleagues was the real story of Tashkent.

Or take another "champion" of Soviet dissenters whom Kaiser casts in somewhat of a "militant" role, David Bonavia of the London Times. Bonavia, too, was with me in Tashkent and, if anything, was one of the leaders of the hunt for Tatar dissenters. Then, in the course of our conversation, it turned out that this friend of "oppressed" Tatars was formerly a correspondent in Saigon and one of the most fervent supporters of Nixon's Vietnam policy I've ever come across.

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MAR " 3 1972

*Roscoe Drummond*

## Fulbright vs. the Majority

WASHINGTON—There is not the merest, minute molecule of justification for the way Sen. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) is using his power as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to frustrate the will of Congress. His goal is to kill Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

The facts in the strange case of Fulbright vs. Congress speak for themselves.

FOR TWO DECADES Radio Free Europe has been broadcasting from Munich to the people of Eastern Europe and Radio Liberty to the peoples of the Soviet Union the news and commentary which their government censorship denies them.

Until two years ago, these broadcasts were largely supported by funds from the Central Intelligence Agency. Congress disapproved this under-the-table financing and voted appropriations to enable the State Department to allocate funds openly to the two stations.

This was the policy of the U. S. government and this was the policy of Congress until last summer, until Sen. Fulbright acted to kill all financial assistance and bring this broadcasting beamed behind the Iron Curtain to an end.

By a voice vote, the Senate decisively rejected Sen. Fulbright's plea that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty be put out of existence.

By a vote of 271 to 12 the House did the same.

But because the Senate and the House passed differing bills, the legislation has been tied up in conference for nearly nine months and now the two stations are dangling at the end of a noose. It is a noose tied by a stalemate which Fulbright has nurtured.

Last summer when he saw he was losing his case in the Senate, Fulbright pleaded for delay until the Library of Congress Re-

search Service could complete a study he had asked for on whether "it is in the public interest to provide tax dollars for the two radios."

The Library of Congress' report so contradicted Sen. Fulbright's views that he did his best to keep it secret. He not only stood out against the public's right to know but also against Congress' right to know.

Some copies of the report have circulated and its central finding is that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "contribute substantially to preserve the reservoir of goodwill toward the United States."

The New York Times and the Washington Post, who are as anti-cold war as they come, both urged that the U.S.-financed Munich radios keep up their good work.

Says the Times: "If the deadlock kills Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the chief gainers will be the Soviet bloc's hard-liners who hate the two radio stations as allies of the liberal and progressive elements in the Communist world."

Says the Post: "These (broadcasts) are not provocative, propagandist diatribes and still less do they 'sell' America, USIA-style. Rather, what both stations attempt to do is tell the people of Eastern Europe and Russia news about themselves and their countries which their governments don't want them to hear."

WHEN SEN. FULBRIGHT made his case — or rather failed to make it — on the floor of the Senate, he said: "I submit these radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold war relics."

That is the view which both the Senate and House overruled. Now Fulbright is trying to bury majority rule with a tactic that ought to be consigned to the graveyard of outworn politics.

MAR 1972

STATINTL

# *\$2.6 Billion Foreign Aid Bill Clears Hill Under Protest*

By Spencer Rich

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate, 45 to 36, gave final congressional clearance yesterday to a \$2.6 billion foreign aid bill—about \$900 million less than the administration sought.

The bill also carries \$599 million for related programs such as the Peace Corps, Cuban refugee aid, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

The Senate vote, protested by William Proxmire (D-Wis.) and Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) and others who said the final measure was top-heavy with unneeded military aid outlays, completed action on the fiscal 1972 foreign aid request only four months before the fiscal year expires. Both Maryland senators voted for the measure, while both Virginia senators opposed it.

In other foreign policy developments on Capitol Hill yesterday:

• Fifty-three senators led by Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.) and Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), and including all the Democratic presidential candidates except the absent Vance Hartke (D-Ind.), introduced a resolution calling for continued funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty broadcasts into Eastern Europe.

Emergency funds for the broadcasts expired Feb. 22, and an authorization to continue them has been held up because a House-Senate conference cannot agree on the terms.

Senate conferees, led by Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J.W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), are willing to let the broadcasts continue through June 30, with the State Department required to justify anything beyond that; House conferees, led by Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Thomas E. Morgan (D-Pa.), want continuation to June 30, 1973.

Fulbright regards the broadcasts as a needless irritant to East West relations. He says that if the broadcasts are popular with U.S. allies, NATO should consider funding them.

• Sens. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.) and Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.), introduced a resolution calling on the United States to speed conclusion of an international ban on underground nuclear tests by abandoning its demand for on-site inspections. The two senators told a press conference that seismic detection of underground blasts had improved so much that on-site inspections are not necessary

to verify whether participants in an underground test ban are complying.

The 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty barred all nuclear tests except those conducted underground. Hart and Mathias said the number of underground tests by all nuclear powers had increased from an average of 40 a year before 1963 to 48 a year since.

Dr. Herbert Scoville of the Federation of American Scientists sat with Hart during the press conference, and said blasts of about 5 kilotons or more now could be distinguished seismically from earthquakes.

• The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, headed by Rep. Cornelius J. Gallagher (D-N.J.), voted 6 to 1 for a concurrent resolution calling for U.S. diplomatic recognition of Bangladesh.

Gallagher said some 45 nations had already recognized Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan. "The fact is that the usual requirements for recognition such as control of territory, approval of the population and a willingness by the Sheikh Mujibur Rahman government to meet its international obligations have now been met," he said in a statement.

STATINTL

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STATINTL

# Letters To The Editor

## *Free Radio's Role*

I seldom agree with the opinions and ideas expressed in your editorial column. Therefore, it was a pleasant surprise to me to read your very sober and realistic answer to the efforts of Senator Fulbright aimed at depriving the people of Eastern Europe and Russia of the almost only source of information about the world and themselves, by choking off the appropriations for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Having lived in Communist-run Poland for 21 years, I can hardly recall a day or two spent without listening to, at least, RFE news. Despite the jamming and penalties for listening, almost every citizen of Poland, Communists and anti-Communists alike, turn to the RFE in order to get news that hasn't been distorted, disregarded, manipulated or twisted. It was from RFE, not from the Communist-run Polish media, that Poles have learned about workers' demonstrations in Poznan (1956), the Hungarian rising (1956), student protests (March 1968), events before and after the invasion of Czechoslovakia (1968) and hunger riots in the coastal cities of Poland (1970).

For years, the popularity of RFE and the fact that it has a whole network of correspondents behind the Iron Curtain reporting the abuses and crimes of the Communist regimes was leaving those regimes sleepless. For years the Communists tried to discredit RFE and force its liquidation. Last year in Poland, a Communist spy captain, Czechowicz, who infiltrated the RFE trying to get the names of the correspondents, was given a hero's welcome on his return to the People's Republic. His achievements were highly publicized by the Communist radio, press and television and gave new momentum to the attacks on RFE.

Mr. Fulbright is not alone in his attempts to deprive the people of Eastern Europe and Russia of the services of RFE and RL. However, one can hardly congratulate him on his company.

W. J. RZESZOTARSKI, Ph.D.

Washington.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
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MAR 2 1972

## Worth the price

Elsewhere on this page today Prof. William E. Griffith of MIT argues for federal appropriations for continuing Radio Liberty, which broadcasts in Russian, and Radio Free Europe which broadcasts in the various languages of Eastern Europe.

These two services were set up in the early days of the so-called "cold war." They were organized and financed clandestinely by the Central Intelligence Agency. They were cold-war propaganda weapons. There is a question whether the United States should continue in these times to beam foreign language broadcasts into the Communist countries. The argument against is that this is interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

These two radio shortwave services are now open and aboveboard. They are no longer deliberately subversive. They are trying to make available the other side of the news story in countries where there is only one version of events, the official one. The evidence indicates that there is a real desire for this "other side" of the story and that to make it available helps to sustain the inquiring mind.

The cost runs to about \$35 million a year. That's about a thirtieth of the cost of one new aircraft carrier. We think it's worth that price to let people in Eastern Europe hear more than one side of the news at least until their own governments become more liberal and enlightened.

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## Overseas broadcasts

By William E. Griffith

Sen. J. William Fulbright seems determined to use his position as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to strangle Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. For two decades these stations have been broadcasting from Munich to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Until last year they were largely funded covertly by the CIA. Now, properly, Congress must publicly decide if and to what extent they are to continue. The Senate, with Senator Fulbright grudgingly agreeing, has voted for a one-year extension under the State Department, while the House has voted for a two-year extension and a study commission. The two houses are now deadlocked in conference committee, and Senator Fulbright hopes that this deadlock will kill the two radios, whose temporary appropriations are running out.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty broadcast 18 hours per day, largely on internal developments. Their broadcasts, as a recent Library of Congress survey commissioned by Senator Fulbright's committee showed, are objective, comprehensive, and devoted to aiding peaceful, democratic change in these countries. Their original "cold war" character has decisively changed since the '50's. Radio Liberty, for example, broadcasts into the Soviet Union the dissident literature, such as Solzhenitsyn, which Moscow is trying to suppress, while Radio Free Europe gives to East Europeans the equivalent of a free press and radio.

Senator Fulbright maintains that these radios should be discontinued because they are "remnants of the cold war." He thus displays a curious naïveté about how the Soviets and the East European regimes view "peaceful coexistence." For them, as they constantly and publicly assert, it is not the decline but the intensification of the "international ideological class struggle." This is clearly demonstrated by their massive radio broadcasting effort to the West and by their other large-scale propaganda efforts, including their massive efforts to get rid of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Moreover, because détente, which they need for reasons of foreign policy, is so dangerous to them internally, they are intensifying their repression at home, as is evidenced by the recent stepped-up arrests and trials in the Soviet Union and in Czechoslovakia. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, on the other hand, give information and hope to the liberals in these countries. Only the dogmatists there would benefit from their closing.

Communist states are determined to monopolize all means of elite and mass communication. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have prevented the Soviet and East European regimes from achieving this objective. Senator Fulbright may naïvely expect that the Soviets and East European rulers would reciprocate their liquidation, but he is mistaken. Indeed, to end them unilaterally now, just before President Nixon is going to Moscow, would deprive the U.S. of one of its major assets in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. No way to start bargaining.

Senator Fulbright seems isolated in Congress in wanting to close down these stations. Moreover, U.S. and European editorial opinion is for them. Should he be permitted to use his chairmanship to impose his will on the great majority in both houses of Congress who favor the radios' continuations? He is indeed a willful man but he is not and should not be in charge of U.S. foreign policy. It is high time that the President and the Congress overrule him and ensure that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty can continue their good work.

*The author is a professor of political science in the Center for International Studies at MIT.*

STATINTL

his sister on that same bus headed for the same integrated school where they could learn in a gentler way that I had two decades earlier how to live in an integrated world. They both began to read. And that was the essential point.

### RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, there is a great need to continue the financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. I ask unanimous consent that an editorial column entitled "A Setback for Liberty," written by John P. Roche, and published in the February 26, 1972, Washington Post, and an editorial entitled "Congress and Free Voices," published in the Philadelphia Bulletin of February 25, 1972, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### A SETBACK FOR LIBERTY (By John P. Roche)

One of the most bizarre—terrifying—scenes in Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's masterpiece, "The First Circle," describes a visit to a Soviet prison by a distinguished American, a woman with high political connections. A group of prisoners are put through a special drill for her benefit dressed decently, put in a clean cell with an ikon, and told by the police that if they don't perform, zap! They did go through with the charade and the American visitor left with a high opinion of Soviet justice.

What made this sort of thing possible, of course, was the total isolation from the world outside. Once caught up in the toils of Joseph Stalin's terror apparatus, it was every man for himself with no hope of succor, no hope that outsiders would even learn of the situation. Part of Solzhenitsyn's power comes from his description of how some human beings resisted atomization and persisted in acts of decency.

The prerequisite for running an efficient tyranny—as Aristotle pointed out more than 2,000 years ago—is to destroy this human sense of solidarity, and to convince each victim that he is alone in the face of overwhelming power, that no one cares. This has become more difficult with modern techniques of communication. It is hard to jam all incoming radio messages, and the spread of the transistor radio and of tape recorders has launched a whole new era in underground communications. Through Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe the United States has for almost a generation brought to the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe the message that they are not alone.

To take but one example, a Soviet Jew signed a petition attacking the appalling Leningrad trials. Thirty years ago he would have dropped this pebble down a bottomless well, but now, the next morning at 2:30, Radio Liberty was on the air with the text of the petition and the names of the signatories. This man, now in Israel, recalls the sense of triumph as he heard the broadcast: "They (the KGB) can take us now, but our testimony will stand in history."

Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe have reunited these peoples with history. And in the view of Sen. J. W. Fulbright that is a capital offense. Just about the time this column is printed, these radio stations—formerly subsidized by the CIA—will go broke unless emergency action is taken. Both houses of Congress have approved their continuation with overt funding and there is overpowering consensus that they have done a splendid and nonprovocative job in a very delicate area, but Fulbright singlehandedly has been blocking a compromise between

House and Senate versions of their appropriation.

Fulbright refused to call a meeting of the House and Senate conferees, obviously hoping that in this backhanded fashion he can quietly destroy what he has called these "Cold War relics." It is a clever move: If he can stall, key personnel will have to find other jobs and the expertise built up over a generation will dribble away. He must not be permitted to get away with it.

No one who reads this column will suffer from the illusion that I believe the United States is perfect, but we Americans have been fortunate. We have never had to rise at 2:30 and turn on a radio to learn that we are still members of the human race, that we are still part of history. We can not allow Fulbright to deprive our brothers of this priceless link with humanity.

#### CONGRESS AND FREE VOICES

A stalemate between the U.S. House and Senate over separate bills to continue financing Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty threatens very sudden death for the two enterprises spawned by the cold war to offset censorship of news in Russia and the Communist bloc.

If the two stations stand as nothing more than relics of the cold war, then, their continued existence does seem inconsistent with the new era of detente emerging between the United States and Russia.

But in fact, the approach of broadcasts in recent years has changed, as attested by a recent Library of Congress study, from one of "liberating" people to "liberalizing" the information available to citizens in Communist societies. Translated, the aim is no longer propaganda but a genuine effort to present an objective accounting of outside events and cultural development, generally not permitted by the government-controlled presses in recipient nations.

Whether one chooses to believe the program is only a relic of the cold war or something more, its quick termination by what amounts to a technical stratagem is unwise. It deprives President Nixon of a possible bargaining counter in his meeting with the Russians in May and presents a poor picture of democratic procedures to individuals who have voluntarily helped support the broadcasts.

Congress should authorize some additional funding now and delay a decision on the long-term continuation of the broadcasts until their present and potential benefits have been properly assessed. An abrupt cutoff now would satisfy only the opponents who see nothing redeeming in the program and the Communist hard liners who bitterly resent the broadcasts.

#### CENTENNIAL OF YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, today we mark the century anniversary of our first great national park—Yellowstone. Thus, 100 years ago, our country began its enlightened national policy to set aside, preserve, and make available for all people superlative areas of natural beauty, scenic grandeur, geologic interest, and historic significance.

With laudable diligence and devotion, the National Park Service discharges its duties as custodian and interpreter of these wonderlands. Our national parks, national monuments, national historic sites, national seashores, national recreation areas have grown in number and diversity. They are far flung and expanding. But the needs of our people for outdoor beauty and experience are growing even more rapidly. We need more parks.

Yellowstone remains, however, the bellwether park—its wonders, beauty, and wildlife undiminished over a century of time. We must protect and keep it so for the century to come—and beyond.

#### THE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIETY OF A FIRST AND SECOND CENTURY OF NATIONAL PARKS

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, 100 years ago today, President Grant signed into law the creation of Yellowstone National Park—the Nation's and the world's first national park.

This marked the beginning of a unique new way of thinking in public land management in this country, and for that matter, throughout the entire world. The unique natural resources embraced by what then became Yellowstone National Park were considered to be of such novelty and value that they should be preserved for all time for all to see and enjoy. No individual or group should have the right to exploit or despoil them for personal gain.

The passing century since the creation of Yellowstone National Park has borne a tremendous growth in the national idea—not only in the numbers of national park system units—which now total 284—but also in the depth and intensity of understanding, appreciation, and concern for the preservation of our natural, historic, and cultural heritage unspoiled. The first national parks paid primary homage to the preservation of some of nature's most superlative natural wonders. But as the Nation and the park system grew, attention was also turned to preserving some of the most significant historic and cultural resources of this great country. With the onrushing demand for opportunity to refresh the body and spirit in the great outdoors, resources primarily bearing significant outdoor recreational opportunity have also come to be incorporated into the national park system.

As a result of a full century of effort by dedicated individuals, groups, legislators, and administrators, we have built a national park system which was not only the first, but is undoubtedly the finest in the entire world. There is perhaps no other area of cultural enrichment where this country has contributed so exclusively to the rest of the world as in the exportation of the national park idea. There are now 1,204 national park and equivalent reserves around the globe administered by 93 different countries.

In recognition of the important contribution that the national park idea has made to our society, President Nixon has recently proclaimed 1972 as "National Parks Centennial Year." Many forms of celebration and commemoration will be taking place throughout this year. While recognizing the achievements of the past is most logical and important on such an occasion, the Interior Department's National Park Service has chosen to put principal emphasis on looking ahead to the future. The theme chosen for the National Parks Centennial Year is "Parks, Man, and His Environment," and it is designed to strong-

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STATINTL

DAVID LAWRENCE

## Why Give Up Radio Free Europe?

A controversy of an unusual nature—to suppress free speech—has arisen as a result of an effort by some members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to cause the American government to discontinue its support for the broadcasting news services known as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. These have won great praise for their daily operations in informing the population of areas which otherwise would not get the truth about news events.

Rep. Robert Steele, R-Conn., declares that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has received two favorable reports on the radio stations but has refused to make them public, and that a Senate bill to finance the project and a House bill authorizing creation of a semi-governmental commission to oversee a similar service have been stalemated.

Steele says he has requested Chairman J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., to publish the reports made to the Senate committee and has asked Congress to keep the radio service alive pending a study of the findings in the reports.

Meanwhile, the European press is disturbed over the possibility that Radio Free Europe might be discontinued. The London Times a few days ago said in an editorial that the American station "provides a calmer and more factual news service that is very widely heard in Eastern Europe." The editorial added:

"It is not always perfect but

it clearly meets a very deeply felt need among its listeners, as any traveller in Eastern Europe can testify. It gives them news about the world and about their own domestic affairs that is not available from their own controlled press.

"Naturally Radio Free Europe is a thorn in the flesh of East European governments because it breaks their monopoly of information. For them, truth in any form is an enemy agent. It can therefore be said to undermine their system, but only so long as people want to listen to it . . .

"Meanwhile, whether its activities can be regarded as improper interference depends on what you mean by detente. As the Communists themselves never tire of pointing out, detente does not mean ending the peaceful competition between two systems. What it should mean is codifying the rules on a fair and equal basis.

"There is no reason why these rules should exclude peaceful and equal competition between ideas. Indeed, this is one of the basic values of the Western world which should be most vigorously defended.

"Nor can anyone say that the Communists do not have an equal chance. They have free access for their ideas in Western markets. They can work through legal publications and legal Communist parties. They can broadcast as much as they wish, and as their programmes on Ulster have shown they can win all

the prizes for vicious inaccuracy.

"The West has far fewer means at its disposal. To give up Radio Free Europe would be a gratuitous act of appeasement that would unbalance things even more and would be a very severe blow to the millions of people in Eastern Europe who still look to the West not only for information but for the defense of values in which they believe, and which even many progressive Communists regard as vital for the salvation of their system."

Congress has not debated the question thoroughly, and presumably hasn't studied the facts contained in the special reports which the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has had prepared. If these were made public, the nation would learn of the importance of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

The United States has performed no greater act of information distribution than has been accomplished by radio stations that tell what is happening all over the world, including events of international significance. This news reaching into Communists countries has been useful in contradicting propaganda misrepresentations.

Many members of Congress are puzzled that any effort should be made to abolish Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which have rendered so valuable a service to the world.

RADIO FREE EUROPE AND  
RADIO LIBERTY

## HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 29, 1972

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I have received a telegram from Lucius D. Clay, chairman of the board of directors of Radio Free Europe, regarding the unfortunate consequences of further congressional delay on funding for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. I ask unanimous consent that this telegram and several editorials which have appeared in newspapers around the world be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Hon. Hugh Scott,  
Minority Floor Leader, U.S. Senate, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

We believe it our duty to inform you that we shall immediately be obliged to begin the liquidation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty unless congressional action on pending authorizing legislation is completed.

The essential facts are these:

(1) Both Houses of Congress have passed authorization and appropriation bills to provide necessary U.S. Government support in fiscal year 1972.

(2) The President of the United States has assured us by letter that in his view "the free flow of information and ideas among nations is indispensable to more normal relations between East and West and to better prospects for an enduring peace" and that his administration believes that broadcasting of this type continues to serve a fundamental national interest.

(3) Within the past two weeks editorials by leading newspapers throughout the United States and Western Europe have given unqualified support. We are sending you today copies of editorials which have appeared in the following newspapers: San Francisco Examiner and other Hearst papers (2/20/72), New York Times (2/21/72), Washington Post (2/22/72), Philadelphia Inquirer (2/22/72), Washington Evening Star (2/22/72), Washington News (2/22/72), St. Louis Globe-Democrat (2/24/72), Los Angeles Times (2/24/72), Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (2/19/72), Hannoverische Allgemeine Zeitung (2/19/72), Zurich Die Tat (2/19/72), Hamburg Die Welt (2/19/72), London Daily Telegraph (2/23/72), Muenchener Merkur (2/24/72), London Times (2/25/72), Paris Le Monde (2/25/72), London Sunday Times (2/27/72).

(4) Yet Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty face the imminent prospect of liquidation with all attendant consequences, and expenses, because it has apparently not been possible to reconcile the different Senate and House authorization bills through the normal procedure of compromise in the conference committee.

We want you to know that we are prepared to continue broadcasting under any arrangement that would assure the necessary U.S. Government contribution while leaving the present professional integrity of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty unimpaired.

The employees of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have stayed on the job but are understandably concerned. We are hopeful that a solution can and will be found. We respectfully urge your support and assistance.

The message has been addressed also to Senators Mansfield and Ellender and Representatives Albert, Boggs and Ford.

Lucius D. Clay, chairman. Board of Directors, Radio Free Europe, and Members of the Board: Eugene N. Beesley, Stewart S. Cort, Winthrop Murray Crane III, Eli Whitney Debevoise, and William P. Durkee.

Trustees of Radio Liberty: Mrs. Oscar Ahlgren, John R. Burton, P. Peter Grace, Allen Grover, Alfred M. Gruenther, John S. Hayes, H. J. Heinz II, Isaac Don Levine, Ernest A. Gross, Michael L. Halder, John D. Harper, Roy E. Larsen, Neil H. McElroy, Donald H. McGannon, Robert D. Murphy, William B. Murphy, James M. Roche, Frank Stanton, Theodore C. Strelbert, H. Gregory Thomas, Leslie B. Worthington, Henry V. Poor, Howland H. Sargeant, Whitney N. Seymour, John W. Studebaker, Reginald T. Townsend, William L. White, and Philip L. Willkie.

(Recent U.S. Editorial Opinion)

[Published Feb. 20, 1972, in San Francisco Examiner and other Hearst papers]

EDITOR'S REPORT—A SMELL OF SMOKE

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

PALM BEACH, FLA.—President Nixon's historic mission to Peking is of course the Big Story of the day, but comment in this column is being deferred until we see what actually happens over there in Mao land.

Judging by the poisonous major foreign policy article transmitted from Peking on Friday by Mao's official press agency, Hsinhua, all I will say is that it doesn't look as if the get-together is going to be all warm lichee nuts, aromatic tea and happy fortune cookies.

The article, issued while the President was en route in his quest for "a generation of peace," accused the Nixon administration of continuing policies of "aggression and war" and proceeded with a lengthy tough talk recapitulation of all the many differences between the United States and Red China.

Since even the President admittedly does not know what may come of his trip, all the advance speculation which has been filling the news columns strikes me as pretty futile. So—with no further apology—I turn to another news story which deserves a lot more attention than it probably has gotten.

This shocker, strictly speaking, was not straight news. It came in the form of a scoop reported with editorial comment last Thursday in the crackerjack Washington column of Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. Here are the first three paragraphs, summarizing the latest outrage being attempted by my least favorite senator, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas:

"The inexorable campaign by Sen. Fulbright to cast U.S. foreign policy in his own image has almost strangled the broadcasts beamed into Communist eastern Europe by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

"Operating from his power base as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Fulbright is within days of cutting off, at least temporarily, vital U.S. government subsidies for the two programs. Unless Congress acts before next Tuesday, the money stops.

"Congressional sentiment for the broadcasts is so overwhelming that it seems improbable Fulbright will ultimately succeed. But he has come perilously close to doing what two decades of Moscow's electronic jamming could not do: end non-governmental communications between the United States and some 200 million residents of the Soviet Union and 100 million in five other Communist countries."

It must be realized as background that eastern Europeans since 1950 have been hungrily dependent on the two Munich-based broadcasters for uncensored news of the outside world. Radio Free Europe transmits to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania

and Bulgaria. Radio Liberty is beamed into the Soviet Union itself.

I have been in all but Bulgaria and talked with residents of all of these countries. Invariably they have stressed that the news and entertainment they get from the American stations constitutes a real godsend to their lives—a whiff of the freedom they are denied.

The Communist governments, naturally, are deeply resentful of the broadcasts, which is why the appeasement-minded Fulbright has been trying to cut off funds for the stations. As Evans and Novak put it:

"To the chairman, such spending is an anachronistic relic of the cold war, prejudicial to East-West detente."

The fact that Fulbright has been trying to block further broadcast funds is bad enough. The way he has gone about it is all but incredible and an inexcusable affront to his fellow lawmakers.

As Evans and Novak tell it, it seems that the stations have been operating with subsidies provided by the CIA. Last year the administration proposed direct government financing but Fulbright balked, demanding first a study of the operation by the Library of Congress to see if the broadcasts are "in the public interest."

The study reports were in Fulbright's hands before last January 26—and he wasn't pleased with what he read. They warmly praised the programs and strongly advocated continued financing by the government.

"Radio Free Europe," reads one report, "contributes substantially to preserve the reservoir of good will toward the United States by eastern Europeans."

The other reports says:

"Radio Liberty has played an explicit enough indirect role in lightening the burden of the Soviet people."

Now get this. On January 26 a Senate-House conference met to resolve differences in their respective bills providing funds for continuing the broadcast. They got nowhere because Sen. Fulbright alone knew of the favorable reports and he had sent them back to the Library of Congress for "reworking!" According to Evans and Novak.

This outrage is only another all too typical example of the extremes to which our consistent appeasers of Communism go.

For the life of me, I simply cannot understand these people. They claim to be Americans yet they criticize or actively oppose almost anything intended to strengthen this nation and its allies. Conversely they invariably support almost anything which favors our enemies.

You don't have to ask who those enemies are. They have announced their enmity often enough, and proven it often enough. They have proclaimed us as the only fly in their omelet and they are sworn to get us out of their way.

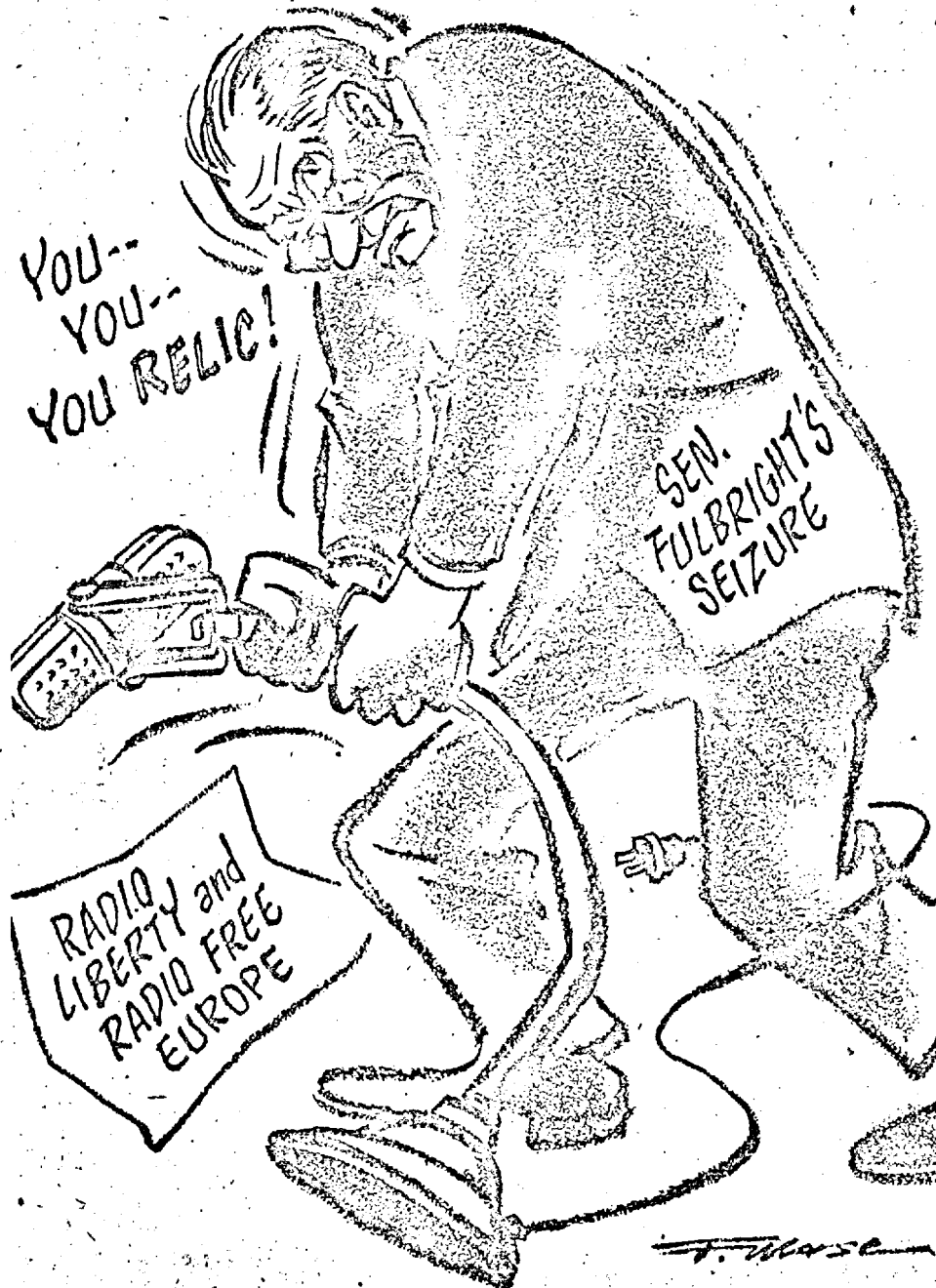
Contrary to what many of my readers seem to think—and apparently I have to keep saying this again and again—I am not opposed to Communism or any other dictatorship someplace else. The government of another country is its own business. I am simply opposed to any regime which keeps interfering with our way of life or that of our friends.

Some of our friends, of course, have non-Communist military dictatorships. It is typical that these are invariably the major targets of those who—for want of a better word—I can only call our leftist-liberals.

You never hear these people refer to Communist regimes as military dictatorships, an exact description. Instead they regard the Red regimes as part of some kind of idealistic social experiment which only reactionary numbskulls can view with alarm.

Be nice to the Communists, the Fulbrights say. Keep smiling and holding out a friendly hand in spite of all the insults, threats and outright aggressions. On the other hand, they

# 'I'm Sick of Your Old Freedom'



MEMPHIS, TENN.  
COMMERCIAL APPEAL

M - 219,462  
S - 268,338

FEB 29 1972

# Fulbright Denies Study Cover-Up

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal  
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28. — Senator J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) Monday denied a charge he is suppressing evidence in order to improve his chances of killing off Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Representative Robert H. Steele (R-Conn.) charged in a House speech that Fulbright, a chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is suppressing a favorable study of the two stations made at Fulbright's request by the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service.

Steele said the study manuscripts were delivered to the committee staff in mid-January and "as far as I can find out, they have just been sitting there ever since, seen only by a handful of outsiders."

Fulbright's office said the manuscripts are a draft version of the study, have been examined by several newsmen and are available to anyone who wants to take a look at them.

"Senator Fulbright was disappointed the study turned out to be favorable, but there has been no attempt to suppress it," a Fulbright press assistant said.

He said when Senate-House conferees met, they were given memos stating the draft

version had been received and that it was favorable to the two stations.

The two stations, which broadcast propaganda to Communist countries of Europe, were established after World War II.

The stations ostensibly were established and financed by private contributions by American citizens, but it became known last year they had been established and funded from the beginning by this country's Central Intelligence Agency.

Last summer, the Senate passed a bill to authorize the State Department to spend 35 million dollars operating the stations for one year. In December, the House passed somewhat different legislation authorizing two more years of operation.

Senate-House conferees have been unable to agree on a compromise.

Senate conferees have offered to extend government financing of the stations to the end of this fiscal year, but House conferees have refused.

Funding for the stations previously provided by Congress through the CIA expired Feb. 22, and the station managers have said they can continue operating only another week or so.

Fulbright has argued the stations are costly and unnecessary and that their output, while not as stridently political as some years ago, is still contrary to efforts to improve the United States' relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.

He also has said the stations conflict with the Voice of America, this country's official overseas broadcasting service.

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## Cold war radio stations look 'awful sick'

By PETER J. KUMPA  
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—The deadlock between Senate and House conferees over the financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty has continued for eight months. Yet another compromise effort to keep the stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union failed again last week.

The chances that the stations will have to shut down are increasing.

In the words of Senator George Aiken (R., Vt.), "The patient looks awful, awful sick."

If the stations close, credit will not go to their life-long critics, the Communist governments from Prague to Moscow.

### Fulbright's opposition

Credit will have to go to the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.), who is determined to drive them out of business. "I submit these radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold war relics," he told the Senate recently in arguing for their demise.

Senator Fulbright throws in the cost of the stations (about \$36 million a year) as well as the history of their secret financing by the Central Intelligence Agency as part of his argument for closure.

More important, however, is the considerable philosophic gap between Mr. Fulbright and the administration on how the nation's foreign policy should be run. Specifically, there is disagreement on how to promote a detente with the Soviet Union.

Because the stations, which concentrate on providing balanced and critical reports on life in the Communist countries,

are "irritants" to the Eastern European governments and even more to the Kremlin, Senator Fulbright reasons that removing them will help improve government-to-government relations.

The senator holds that such a step would help President Nixon in whatever negotiations he holds with the Russians. He says that it could not hurt.

The administration and particularly the State Department disagree. Believing that the "demise would be a great loss," John N. Irwin, an under-secretary of state, argues that the stations "bring to individual citizens (in Eastern Europe) a responsible and realistic account of developments within their own societies as well as the world at large from an independent outside source" and, therefore, "are a highly useful enterprise."

### Form of pressure

The stations are useful in the administration view, because keeping the public highly informed within the Communist world is a form of pressure upon the governments to improve living standards and to open the closed societies. This sort of pressure provides a strong incentive for a detente, in the opinion of administration's Soviet experts.

Sovietologists believe that Moscow does little unless it is pushed or shoved. Improvements in living standards within the Soviet Union and other Communist countries have been due, in this view, to strikes (as in Poland) or demands from the public. And only an informed public, aware of events in the west as well as trends in other Communist states, can make effective demands, the Soviet specialists contend.

Few experts doubt that the Soviet Union, for example,

would have permitted immigration to Israel without a worldwide campaign critical of Russian treatment of its Jewish population. Radio Liberty is notable for its sympathetic treatment of Soviet Jewry's problems.

### Freedom to speak

The stations are useful to the administration because they have some non-governmental form and can say things that a completely government agency, like the Voice of America, cannot. That is their value. The Soviet Union maintains a similar station, Radio Peace and Progress, that it calls unofficial and broadcasts material too daring for Radio Moscow.

They are held more believable in Eastern Europe because they are staffed by emigres, many of them informed and with reputations back home. The pre-1968 staff of Radio Prague is now virtually the staff of the Czech Section of Radio Free Europe, for example.

Senator Fulbright counters that continuing broadcasts amounts to "meddling in the internal political affairs of other countries." If the reasoning on pressure holds for Eastern Europe, he asks why the administration does not propose to set up a "Radio Free Greece" or a "Radio Free Brazil" or a "Radio Free China" but instead relies on the Voice of America to getting information through.

The administration answer is that the situations are not at all comparable.

Support for continuing the stations has come from an independent Library of Congress study which concluded that they encourage detente, prod governmental reform and help build goodwill for the United States. The study found the content of the broadcasting

objective and not propagandistic as it was in earlier periods of the cold war.

Ironically, the stations might not be facing the death threat if the administration had not agreed to a proposal by Senator Clifford P. Case (R., N.J.) to end CIA financing (public contributions amounted to only 15 per cent of the budgets of the stations) and provide money through the regular congressional process.

The close connection with the intelligence agency still disturbs Senator Fulbright.

He regards the two stations as examples of the "big lie" dished out by this and previous administrations, comparable to what he says were such "deceptions" as the Tonkin Gulf incident and the use of CIA personnel in the guise of aid to Laos.

### Compromise plan

The proposal that Mr. Fulbright will not accept has been offered by Representative Dante Fascell (D., Fla.). It would let both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty live on through State Department financing until the middle of next year while a presidential commission would study their futures.

Senator Fulbright said he will agree to that only "over my dead body." He is willing to continue financing only until June 30 under a simple resolution.

The confrontation is total. Richard T. Davies, a deputy assistant secretary of state, said last week, "we are not prepared to contemplate the termination of the radios."

The flow of radio funds was cut on George Washington's birthday. The radios can keep going for only a few more weeks with the cash they have in the till.



to testify in court trials; (6) the length of time required to conclude litigated claims occasioned by heavily congested court dockets results in a significant burden; (7) courts with their jurisdictional boundaries are unable to direct a meaningful nationwide effort to improve the cargo claims situation; and (8) strict accountability for cargo claims is most difficult, if not impossible, to achieve.

After exploring the possible alternatives to the vexing problems described above, including compulsory arbitration and no-fault insurance, we concluded that disputed claims should be submitted for determination by this Commission in the first instance under a simplified procedure. Such determination would be based principally upon documentary evidence in order that the expenses, attorneys' fees, and lost production time of key personnel necessitated by presentation of evidence in court or before an arbitrator could be avoided. As a positive adjunct to this procedure, meaningful data on claims could be gathered and electronically catalogued in order to define particular problem areas. On the basis of this information particularized claim-prevention programs could be implemented on a national scale.

A specific legislative recommendation is made a part of the report (see Appendix F, Part 1) which, if enacted into law, would vest in this Commission authority to adjudicate in the first instance all unresolved cargo loss and damage claims filed against carriers subject to the Interstate Commerce Act. In the manner more fully described in the report, the prompt, impartial adjudication of cargo claims and electronically cataloguing claims data can serve a threefold purpose: It would provide an effective legal remedy to claimants where none now exists; the administration of justice would be more efficiently achieved in a factually technical area of civil litigation; and valuable data could be gathered on a national scale which may be employed to develop a national policy with respect to the prevention of cargo loss and damage claims and the consequent waste of our Nation's resources.

While this Commission is convinced of the need to adopt the proposed bill vesting claims jurisdiction in it, the task cannot, in all candor, be undertaken with our current manpower and budgetary resources. Without tools commensurate to the task, we could not be expected to achieve any worthwhile or lasting improvement in the perennial loss and damage claims problem.

In a second specific legislative recommendation, the Commission places before the Congress for its consideration, a proposal to allow this Commission to adopt regulations to require maintenance by rail and water carriers subject to the Act of adequate insurance to protect the shipping public for loss and damage claims. Pursuant to existing authority this Commission presently requires motor carriers and freight forwarders subject to parts II and IV of the Act to maintain sufficient insurance in this respect; the proposed legislation (Appendix F, part 2) would extend the power to carriers subject to parts I and III of the Act. In other portions of our report we reiterate our position on attorneys' fees legislation which already is well known to the Congress; pitfalls of creating courts of limited jurisdiction to deal with cargo claims matters are examined; we pledge to institute a rule-making proceeding for the purpose of investigating reasonable dispatch in the transportation of perishable commodities; and the practices of carriers in inspecting commodities and packaging when they are involved in concealed loss and damage claims are analyzed.

Many of the inquiries you may have received from your constituents have been answered or commented upon in the enclosed report. To the extent, however, that the powers of this Commission do not go far enough to provide effective remedies for dealing with the discontent that prevails throughout the country in these cargo claims matters, this Commission has endeavored to meet its duty to the Congress and the public by responding to what it concludes is a public demand and need for remedial legislation in the claims area.

If you have questions not covered by this letter, I shall be happy to forward a prompt reply.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE M. STAFFORD,  
Chairman.

#### RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY PROMOTE DETENTE

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I observe that time is running out for the two "Radios" which constitute the best link available between the West and the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are an essential ingredient to meaningful detente in Eastern Europe. These radios reach out to the peoples of the put down nations of the East. They give them information about developments which are likely to affect their lives. All too often these peoples are denied such news by the censorship of their totalitarian Communist governments.

It is conceded that these radios are not cherished by the states of Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union. However, the fact that these governments do object to the broadcasts, and that the broadcasts have a regular audience of 30 million in Eastern Europe alone, suggests the extent of their appeal.

The Eastern European nations have resorted to expensive measures to stop the broadcasts of the radios. They have jammed them at huge cost and have even attempted retribution. With the West German Government's recent initiatives or "Ostpolitik" there arose a chorus of Eastern European governmental demands for the demise of Radio Free Europe. But the Germans have held firm. They recognize that these radios are not at all injurious to detente but, in fact, serve to promote it.

The opponents of RFE and RL have questioned their effectiveness by suggesting that they cannot get support for their operations from NATO power governments. Let me point out that these governments have their own radios which are intended to serve their national interests quite specifically. The peoples of Eastern Europe know this. The character of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty would be quite changed and its credibility to the Eastern Europeans diminished if its funding were to fall to governments whose historic relations with the East may be less than fondly remembered. The nonofficial funding from the United States, plus the Radios' several decades of objective reporting, have resulted in their remarkably great credibility and widespread use among the peoples of Eastern Europe and Russia.

Several Senators have raised objections to the fact that the Radios have received

funding through the Central Intelligence Agency. I do not believe that such funding has forever tainted these Radios. Strong evidence would suggest that the audiences in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union continue to evaluate the broadcasts they receive on the basis of content alone. They have continued to listen to the Radios and have—in a number of cases—sent messages of distress at the prospect of their termination.

I believe that it would be a squalid breach of faith for the Congress of the United States to deny millions of Eastern European and Russian listeners their sole source of uncensored information about the world they live in. This blow, in my opinion, would adversely affect the diplomatic moves now being undertaken by our President with regard to the Soviet Union.

Detente, if it comes, will be the widening of the West's contacts with the East. Surely, it does not imply that we must aid the totalitarian governments of the Communist nations in their intent to keep their peoples sealed off from the West. Detente must lead to the exchange of words and ideas, and of goods and peoples. And this I submit is the essential business of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

The atmosphere between East and West today does not require us to demonstrate our willingness to talk. We are ready. The Russians are ready. Discussions at the highest level are scheduled for mid-May in Moscow. Any idea that we should allow Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty to cease broadcasting now is gratuitous. It would be without reward for improved East-West relations.

I urge the Senate to call for an end to the deadlock of the conference committee and pass a bill which will fund these excellent Radios for the duration of this fiscal year and for a second fiscal year as well. I applaud the fact that we have terminated their funding from CIA, but I cannot approve their demise. It would be my hope, Mr. President, that the Senate will exhibit the leadership appropriate to save these Radios from an untimely death by neglect.

#### ABUSE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is one of the most dismal pieces of legislation enacted by Congress. It was supposed to provide campaign reform. Instead, it will encourage the continuation of the greatest campaign abuse in our Nation.

Labor unions will continue to exact funds from their members, and these funds will be allocated by the union leaders to the candidates of their choice. We have not taken a step forward in reforming our campaign system; we have slipped backward.

Mr. President, this fact was brought sharply into focus in a column by Victor Riesel. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Riesel's column, published in the Arizona Republic February 18, 1972, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article



it hasn't as yet been resubmitted. If an extension petition is filed by a car company, EPA has 60 days in which to make a decision. Administrator Ruckelshaus has indicated that any petition would be made available to the public for open hearings. He did indicate, however, that EPA was giving some consideration to amending the petition's disclosure policy in order to provide full public disclosure and yet guarantee the protection of certain trade secrets.

On January 1, 1972, the National Academy of Sciences filed its first semi-annual report on which EPA will base its decision on the technological feasibility of the car companies to meet the 1975 deadline. The report said that while "there is no certainty today that any 1975 model year vehicles will meet the requirements of the Act", it may be possible if three conditions are met: 1. provisions are made for catalyst replacement, 2. averaging of emissions throughout the day rather than just for the first trip, and 3. general availability of non-leaded gasoline.

Besides Rep. Rogers' suggestion for the catalyst problem, the other two National Academy of Sciences' conditions may also see early solutions. Changes in the EPA testing procedure, beginning with 1975, will encompass the average of the emissions from all the trips taken in a day rather than just the emissions from the first trip (The first four to six running minutes emit the greatest amount of pollutants.). EPA officials feel that this change will "more accurately reflect the driving experience of the average motor vehicle in major urban areas."

In addition, the oil industry will apparently have little or no trouble making non-leaded gasoline generally available for use by 1974. Although presently available in limited quantities, there has been some question whether it could be produced on a mass basis. When questioned during the hearings about whether the oil industry can get the lead out within the deadline period (the experimental converters work only on unleaded gas) an American Petroleum Institute spokesman said "No question about it." "The bill means changes, and that's what we're doing is changing," he added.

#### AIR CLEANUP

WASHINGTON, February 17 (UPI).—Despite Government promises to enforce a 1975 clean-air deadline, at least 18 states have requested two-year postponements and appear likely to get them.

In applications made to the Environmental Protection Agency, most of the states involved, said that urban areas could not meet the standards without limiting downtown traffic. They indicated a reluctance to impose such traffic controls.

When EPA Administrator William D. Ruckelshaus announced the air quality standards April 30, he emphasized that many cities would have to curb traffic.

"I don't anticipate any delay in their implementation," Ruckelshaus said of the standards.

But in an interview yesterday, the EPA official in charge of reviewing state applications said that the agency probably would forgo the deadline rather than force traffic restrictions that might be unpopular with commuters.

"If you need traffic control you probably can get a two-year extension," said B. J. Steigerwald, director of the EPA's stationary source pollution control program.

"Traffic control isn't easily imposed," Steigerwald said. He said that cities would need mass transit to replace automobiles. "You just don't install mass transit in three years," he said.

Experts from the EPA and other agencies have estimated that car exhaust causes at least 50 per cent of air pollution, the most harmful concentrations being in downtown areas.

Richard E. Ayres, who has studied the state plans for the Natural Resources Defense Council, a private environmental group, said that any delay in curbing urban auto pollution would undermine the entire air clean-up program.

"What they're saying is that they'll meet the standards where there isn't any pollution and delay them where the problem is most severe," Ayres said.

Many states said that if given until mid-1977, the car-pollution problem largely would go away because of progressively stricter federal requirements for exhaust clean-up devices on new cars.

The first such devices were installed on 1968 models. Under the same Clean Air Act, which mandated the 1975 air clean-up standards, 1975 model cars must cut carbon monoxide and hydrocarbon emission by 90 per cent, compared with 1970 models, and 1976 cars must reduce nitrogen oxide emissions 90 per cent, too.

Although the law allows a one-year extension of these standards if car-makers cannot meet them, and although all four U.S. car companies have requested such a delay, the EPA permitted states to presume in drawing up their plans that the 1975 and 1976 auto deadlines would be met.

Steigerwald indicated that he was using the same presumption in reviewing state applications.

"By 1977, car emission limits will allow many cities to meet the air standards," Steigerwald said. "Does it make sense for us to demand significant traffic controls by 1975 when two years later they could meet the standards without traffic controls?"

However, Steigerwald said, "About 15 cities won't meet the standards even in 1977 without traffic controls." He did not name all the cities but said that they included New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.

The law required each state to give EPA by Jan. 30 its plan for meeting limits on six air pollutants—sulfur oxides, particulate matter, carbon monoxide, photochemical oxidants, nitrogen oxide and hydrocarbons. The EPA must approve or disapprove the plans by May 30. The law says the limits must be met by July 1, 1975, unless EPA grants the state a two-year extension.

The plans are hundreds of pages long and no one in Washington has read them all. United Press International compiled the list of 18 states seeking extensions from EPA sources and from reporters in state capitols.

Most of the 18 sought no over-all extensions, but rather a two-year delay in meeting standards for carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons—which come mostly from cars—in urban areas.

Steigerwald said that about 15 states did promise to work on some form of traffic controls—reduced parking space, higher bridge tolls, inspections, mandatory installation of antipollution devices on older cars—but few included them as firm parts of an enforcement program.

#### GOD BLESS THE PRESIDENT ON HIS TRIP TO CHINA

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 28, 1972

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, as we prepare to welcome the President back from his history-making trip to China, I would like to share with my colleagues the following letter from a constituent of Maryland's Eighth Congressional District. I feel it is particularly noteworthy in that

it is not simply a partisan, "rubber stamp" letter of support, but one which expresses the views of a thinking, responsible American citizen. This kind of thoughtful letter is further evidence that there exists widespread support for President Nixon's meetings with China's leaders, and that, truly, all the Nation's prayers have been with him on this journey:

GOD BLESS THE PRESIDENT ON HIS TRIP TO CHINA  
CHEVY CHASE, MD.,  
February 17, 1972.

HON. GILBERT GUDE,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GUDE: I have written many letters to you, over the years, that could be considered critical in the sense that they expressed my frustration about what our government has done in Vietnam.

Because—the President's trip to China is a day for hope, I wish to express words of favor for the present Administration and party in power which I do support from time to time, as follows:

1. I believe the President is trying (at some risk) by this China effort to find an end to a war which in all fairness we should admit he does not bear the major responsibility for.

2. I believe he understands the domestic needs of the American economy should now have top priority over do gooding abroad, and that he will act to help to restore the world leadership we once enjoyed as the most capable country in the production of goods and services, here at home.

There are, of course, a lot of things happening in the government which I do not agree with, political and otherwise, and I am sometimes concerned that our very form of government is under severe test.

I do want the President to succeed and I want you gentlemen to succeed in the sincere efforts you are demonstrating. I choose this day of hope to express confidence in you.

Yours sincerely,  
JOHN W. MALLEY.

#### CONTINUE RADIO FREE EUROPE

HON. ROBERT H. STEELE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 28, 1972

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of the Members to the following editorial from the Hartford Courant on the future of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The editorial presents an incisive analysis of the current congressional struggle to keep the Radios alive and makes a telling argument for continuing their vital operations.

The editorial follows:

#### RADIO FREE EUROPE FACES CUTOFF

It seems more than a little ironic that in this country where freedom of information and the right to know are so fervently cherished, the Congress is haggling over whether Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty should be continued or not.

In some ways the hangs-up is a technical one. The House and Senate are at odds, the former being willing to finance the two stations for two more years, the latter wanting to cut off funds after one year.

The real stumbling block is a matter of foreign policy, and not just whether the country

STATINTL

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

STAR

FEB 28 1972

M - 231,064

S - 379,299

## To Keep Freedom Alive

For nearly two decades, since the end of World War II, two radio systems based in Munich, West Germany, financed chiefly by the United States, have daily beamed to persons behind the Iron Curtain factual news of the outside world unhindered by the censorship of totalitarian, Communist regimes.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have staffs totaling 2,600 persons, many of them refugees from Communist tyranny, who broadcast in the tongues of the listeners. Radio Free Europe beams its programs mainly to audiences in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and Poland. Radio Liberty transmits in the various languages of the Soviet Union.

That these stations have been effective in getting to oppressed peoples of the world uncensored material is demonstrated by the constant pressure that has been applied on their operations by Communist governments. West Germany has repeatedly refused, as the Communists have sought, to revoke the station's authority to broadcast from German soil.

Yet these voices of freedom and truth may be stilled—not by Communist pressure—but by action of the Congress of the United States, more especially the Senate and in particular one senator, J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

"These radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of Cold War relics," Senator Fulbright contends.

At issue is an appropriation of \$36 million needed annually to keep the stations in operation. The appropriation is supported by President Nixon and even by such liberal publications as the New York Times which says the broadcasts "have contributed enormously to enlarging the marketplace of ideas in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." But Senator Fulbright argues that the administration is seeking to "keep this Cold War program on the books despite the fact that neither the American public nor the governments of Western Europe are willing to support such a continuation."

The senator seems to ignore some studies he himself authorized some time ago when he asked the Library of Congress for reports on the effectiveness of both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Perhaps those reports, prepared by knowledgeable government experts, were at odds with Fulbright's zeal to retire these "Cold War relics."

"The reality of Radio Liberty," concluded the report on that facility, "conflicts with its popular image. It is neither a Cold War operation nor is its staff a group of cold warriors. On the contrary, Radio Liberty accepts all Soviet institutions, though not their ideology, and seeks to bring about peaceful democratic change from within."

The question that must be asked is this: If the congressional opposition results in the end of these broadcasts to Iron Curtain countries what then will the people in those nations hear? It is certain that what they will hear is the "official" line of hard propaganda that the Communist-controlled media already bears. Ending the broadcasts would eliminate, as the Communists want, any possibility of dissent occurring because someone, who heard a voice of freedom, realized that the Communist system, with its harsh, unrelenting control, is not the best of all possible worlds.

DES MOINES, IOWA  
REGISTER

FEB 27 1972

M - 250,261

S - 515,710

## Cold War Relics

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has appealed to congressional leaders to continue financing Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Senator J. William Fulbright (Dem., Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is leading opposition to further government funding of the two radio operations. He has described them as part of a "pattern of fraud and deceit."

Radio Free Europe was set up in 1949 as a private, non-profit corporation which would beam news broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain. The system, with news headquarters in Munich, has 32 transmitters in West Germany and Spain.

Radio Liberty was added in 1951. Its broadcasts are directed exclusively to the Soviet Union, with around-the-clock programs in 17 dialects beamed from transmitters in Taiwan, Spain and West Germany. Munich also is the news headquarters for Radio Liberty.

Both radio operations were promoted in the U.S. as a voluntary, non-government effort to counter Communist propaganda about American life and government aims. There were periodic appeals for donations to help support the broadcasts.

About a year ago, Congress learned that the broadcasts had been secretly financed with tax funds by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The Nixon Administration, however, has yet to admit to Congress that the radio operations were a cover for CIA activities.

After the disclosure of CIA involvement, the White House tried to counter congressional criticism with a bill setting up a tax-exempt corporation

to oversee the radio operations. The Administration proposed spending \$40 million a year.

Fulbright's committee turned it down. Instead, the committee agreed to finance the operations for one more year at \$35 million. The Senate passed the measure on a voice vote in August.

In September the House Foreign Affairs Committee advanced a measure authorizing \$74.5 million for two years while a special committee evaluated the need for continuing Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in addition to the government-financed Voice of America broadcasts. That was agreeable to the House. Now the two houses must iron out their differences or let the two broadcast operations die.

The Voice of America maintains a world-wide programming schedule in 36 languages. About 40 per cent of its air time is beamed to Communist-governed countries. For this, the taxpayers are spending \$41 million this year.

The AFL-CIO leaders adopted a resolution saying, "The closing of these vital communications with the captive peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will be a clear sign of U.S. capitulation in the war to bring truth and courage to countless millions behind the Iron Curtain."

"We agree with Fulbright that truth already was compromised by the government's attempt to disguise its propaganda broadcasts as a voluntary venture by American citizens. Fulbright suggested that the two radio operations should "take their rightful place in the graveyard of Cold War relics." We agree.

HARTFORD, CONN.

COURANT FEB 26 1972

M - 152,528

S - 199,160

## Radio Free Europe Faces Cutoff

It seems more than a little ironic that in this country where freedom of information and the right to know are so fervently cherished, the Congress is haggling over whether Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty should be continued or not.

In some ways the hang-up is a technical one. The House and Senate are at odds, the former being willing to finance the two stations for two more years, the latter wanting to cut off funds after one year.

The real stumbling block is a matter of foreign policy, and not just whether the country should spend \$36 million annually to run the two operations. If Senator Fulbright has his way, the funding will not be renewed. He says "These radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold war relics."

And of course, ever since it came out that the Central Intelligence Agency had been financing Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, their names have been mud — not only in Russia and Eastern European countries naturally, but here at home among those who think there is something villainous about the CIA.

Yet when Senator Fulbright asked for studies by the Library of Congress on the effectiveness of the two stations, he was set back on his heels. "The reality of Radio Liberty," the Library of Congress reported, "conflicts with its popular image. It is

neither a cold war operation, nor is its staff a group of cold warriors. On the contrary, Radio Liberty accepts all Soviet institutions, though not its ideology, and seeks to bring about a peaceful democratic change from within."

The report on Radio Free Europe was in kind. And the truth of the matter is that the two stations for a generation now have been broadcasting factual news. What has aroused the ire of the Communist regimes is that there are plenty of facts these governments don't want their people to know. This is plain enough from the rigid control exercised over news media in Russia and its satellite countries.

If Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are disbanded, the peoples of these countries will have lost a free press for the inflow of information that certainly is not going to be duplicated by officially sponsored government radios. Millions of persons have listened to news over Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which would have been completely censored by Communist governments.

As has been remarked, before Congress decides whether it believes these radio stations are relics of the cold war, it might be well to wait until after President Nixon returns from Moscow. The cold war itself may not prove to be the vanished spectre some persons would have us believe. An American foreign policy substituting negotiation for confrontation is a very nice idea but it still takes two to tango.

WASHINGTON POST  
26 FEB 1972

## John P. Roche

# A Setback For Liberty

ONE of the most bizarre—terrifying—scenes in Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's masterpiece, "The First Circle," describes a visit to a Soviet prison by a distinguished American, a woman with high political connections. A group of prisoners are put through a special drill put her benefit, dressed decently, put in a clean cell with an ikon, and told by the police that if they don't perform, zap! They did go through with the charade and the American visitor left with a high opinion of Soviet justice.

What made this sort of thing possible, of course, was the total isolation from the world outside. Once caught up in the toils of Joseph Stalin's terror apparatus, it was every man for himself with no hope of succor, no hope that outsiders would even learn of the situation. Part of Solzhenitsyn's power comes from his description of how some human beings resisted atomization and persisted in acts of decency.

THE PREREQUISITE for running an efficient tyranny—as Aristotle pointed out more than 2,000 years ago—is to destroy this human sense of solidarity, and to convince each victim that he is alone in the face of overwhelming power, that no one cares. This has become more difficult with modern techniques of communication. It is hard to jam all incoming radio messages, and the spread of the transistor

radio and of tape recorders has launched a whole new era in underground communications. Through Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe the United States has for almost a generation brought to the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe the message that they are not alone.

To take but one example, a Soviet Jew signed a petition attacking the appalling Leningrad trials. Thirty years ago he would have dropped this pebble down a bottomless well, but now, the next morning at 2:30, Radio Liberty was on the air with the text of the petition and the names of the signatories. This man, now in Israel, recalls the sense of triumph as he heard the broadcast: "They (the KGB) can take us now, but our testimony will stand in history."

RADIO LIBERTY and Radio Free Europe have reunited these peoples with history. And in the view of Sen. J. W. Fulbright that is a capital offense. Just about the time this column is printed, these radio stations—formerly subsidized by the CIA—will go broke unless emergency action is taken. Both houses of Congress have approved their continuation with overt funding, and there is overpowering consensus that they have done a splendid and non-provocative job in a very delicate area, but Fulbright singlehandedly has been blocking a compromise between House and Senate versions of their appropriate

Fulbright refused to call a meeting of the House and Senate conferees, obviously hoping that in this back-handed fashion he can quietly destroy what he has called these "Cold War relics." It is a clever move: If he can stall, key personnel will have to find other jobs and the expertise built up over a generation will dribble away. He must not be permitted to get away with it.

No one who reads this column will suffer from the illusion that I believe the United States is perfect, but we Americans have been fortunate. We have never had to rise at 2:30 and turn on a radio to learn that we are still members of the human race, that we are still part of history. We can not allow Fulbright to deprive our brothers of this priceless link with humanity.

King Features Syndicate

25 FEB 1972

STATINTL

DAVID LAWRENCE

## And Then Comes the Moscow Trip

President Nixon has had the attention of the American people focused on him as they keep up with his activities in Peking while he deals with the delicate problems of developing friendly relations with the government of mainland China.

Rarely has a mission of this type been attempted in an election year, but Nixon found it necessary to move at this time into a world situation that demands personal negotiation.

The trip to Red China appears to be a success, but in a few weeks the President will be taking another journey — to the capital of the Soviet Union in the middle of May. He will undoubtedly make every effort to convince the leaders in the Kremlin that the United States can work with them without letting differences of viewpoint stand in the path of a "peaceful coexistence."

The problems with the Soviets are different from those with which Nixon has been faced in Peking. The United States formally recognizes the Soviet government and has for years been carrying on discussions about possible ways to advance the cause of peace.

Some of the subjects that the president will take up in Moscow have been under consideration for a long time. There is, for instance, at present a continuing series of talks on the limitation of strategic arms, and this affects not just Russia and the United States but the entire world.

If the Soviets show an indi-

cation that they are ready to go ahead on a program of limiting or reducing nuclear weapons, it will be a big step forward and will assure the peoples of both Europe and Asia that the chances of nuclear war are being diminished.

Nixon is hopeful that the United States and the Soviet Union can enter into a new relationship — one that is dedicated to the prevention of war, particularly nuclear war. If evidence of this determination can be presented to the world convincingly, the conferences between Nixon and the leaders in the Kremlin will be of transcendent importance.

What is lacking today is a close relationship between the American people and the people of the Soviet Union. Censorship on the Russian side prevents their communicating with each other. Congress at the moment is considering whether it will continue to finance the broadcasts in several languages which are daily transmitted by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty to the people of Eastern and Central Europe and of the Soviet Union.

More information about the United States and its policies needs to be sent into these areas with the hope that a friendlier feeling will develop in future years.

There are many ways in which the Russian people could become better known to the American people, and one of these is to permit more visitors to travel freely throughout the Soviet Union. An interchange of ideas between for-

eign tourists and residents tends eventually to generate a better understanding of world affairs on both sides.

There is every reason why the United States should endeavor to develop a friendlier relationship with the government in Moscow and the people of the Soviet Union.

If preventing wars is to be the objective and "peaceful coexistence" is to be the motto, President Nixon could apply this doctrine at his visit with Premier Kosygin and other Soviet leaders. For the American people do not want war with any nation, and they are anxious to see nuclear weapons limited if not entirely prohibited. The current talks on strategic arms with the Soviet Union are supposed to cover such problems.

President Nixon will be busy with his foreign tours almost up to the national party conventions in midsummer. For when he gets home, the piles of work to be done as a result of his journeys will occupy much of his time during 1972. He will be devoting his energies to the task of striving to make peace, and this is a tremendous job in a world with so many small nations seeking to take advantage of one another. The major powers will have to be the peacemakers.

Actually, relations between the Soviets and the Red Chinese have been increasingly hostile in recent years, and Peking fears the further extension of Soviet influence into Asian countries. It would mean a great deal to Red China to feel that it has the backing of the United States.

FT. WAYNE, IND.  
NEWS SENTINEL

E - 78,484  
FEB 24 1972

## Speaking of Relics

Radio Free Europe is no more a "relic" of the cold war than J. William Fulbright is a relic of the U.S. Senate.

It should be no surprise to Senator Fulbright that Eastern Europe is still largely occupied by the military forces of a foreign invader -- the Soviet Union. And being headed by captive, satrap governments; the people of Eastern Europe are subjected to state-controlled press and radio.

All of which is to say, the men, women and children of controlled and absorbed areas must look to sources such as Radio Free Europe for information on their own affairs and the reactions of the Free World to events which affect their lives and future.

Radio Free Europe might be a relic in the sense that it is now more than 25 years old. But the need has hardly changed. The Soviet occupation has not been withdrawn. The truth still serves a purpose.

The question arose this week because Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were running out of funds. Private sources of support have never been sufficient. The U.S. government, through the Central Intelligence Agency, has been supporting the two radio stations with about \$36 million annually. Congress must approve the continuation of the support or the radio broadcasts into the captive countries will be limited or discontinued.

Senator Fulbright, however, said the support should be dropped. He called the stations "relics" to those bad old days of the cold war. In Senator Fulbright's private world, the Russian armies no longer have iron knuckles at the throat of the people in Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

Just how much information the people of those countries gain from Radio Free Europe is difficult to judge. The Soviet dictators and their Quislings do not allow the likes of George Gallup to roam around taking polls in most places. It is certain, however, that some people do listen to the radio broadcasts and find them useful. This has been reported by both travelers and the many who have migrated west. To those who still daily risk their lives to escape a prison existence, the cold war is no relic.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty may not be perfect, but they are among the few media to combat the endless propaganda of the controlled press of Eastern Europe. It is hoped that Congress will vote the rather modest sum to continue the broadcasts.

One can agree with Senator Fulbright that there are those relics which should be retired. But that is a matter for the voters of Arkansas to decide.

24 FEB 1972

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STATINTL

## The Siege of Radio Free Europe

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) made a laudable, highly pertinent speech a few years ago urging the American people to outgrow the clichés of the cold war—to distinguish between "old myths and new realities." It was good advice.

Unfortunately, in his efforts to kill off Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the influential chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is showing a certain confusion between myth and reality himself.

For more than 20 years Radio Free Europe has been broadcasting to the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. Its smaller sister operation, Radio Liberty, broadcasts to the Soviet Union in Russian and 16 other languages. In hours of broadcasting to these areas, the two Munich-based stations are far more active than the Voice of America.

Now Fulbright wants to kill off RFE and Radio Liberty by blocking congressional authorization for the current fiscal year. Failing in that, he favors a Senate-passed bill which would extend the life of the stations only through June.

We strongly urge, instead, that Senate conferees accept a House-passed bill which would authorize operations for two more years. During those two years, a study would be made to determine if the broadcasting operation should be continued—and if so, under what arrangement.

Fulbright argues that RFE and Radio Liberty are "relics of the cold war" which have outlived their usefulness in a day when the emphasis is on

East-West efforts at detente. In this he is mistaken.

There was a time, prior to the 1956 uprising in Hungary, when the Munich-based stations indeed exhibited a cold war obsession. Nowadays, however, it is recognized that the Communist governments won't be overthrown by force. Any improvement must come about through the slow process of internal liberalization. And to the degree that such liberalization occurs, there is a hope that Communist foreign policy will mellow, too.

RFE and Radio Liberty encourage the liberalization process by publicizing the doings and writings of dissident intellectuals and others in the Communist countries whose opinions would otherwise remain smothered by censorship.

Shutting down RFE and Radio Liberty would make Communist hard-liners—those who oppose both detente with the West and internal liberalization—very happy. But it would be a discouraging development, indeed, to those who are striving, in the Czech phrase, the communism with a human face.

It may be, of course, that substantial changes are needed in the way the stations are financed and managed. Direct European participation, for example, is long overdue. And certainly government support in the future should be open, rather than half-hidden as it was in the past. But these are matters which should properly be explored in the study called for in the pending House bill.



24 FEB 1972

# Fulbright's About Face on Radio Free Europe

BY ROBERT S. ELEGANT

MUNICH—If historians are kind, Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) will be honored as a powerful and effective advocate of better understanding among diverse peoples. The bitter great and small power rivalries of the post-World War II era have, at the very best, been ameliorated by the Fulbright Program, the greatest government-sponsored exchange of knowledge between citizens of different nations in all history.

By the hundreds of thousands, American and foreign students have benefited from opportunities to learn more about other cultures provided by Fulbright's vision. It is certain that the majority of Fulbright Scholars would not have enjoyed such opportunities if they had to pay for themselves. It is impossible to state specifically how the great mass of humanity, the cause of world peace or the interests of the United States have benefited. Nonetheless, the senator felt with total justification that even the possibility of better understanding among peoples by exchange of information was worth whatever the cost.

Historians will, however, require great understanding and forbearance, if they are to give Fulbright the credit he amply deserves—and to reconcile the old, liberal Fulbright with the new, reactionary Fulbright. The junior senator from Arkansas is currently engaged in a one-man campaign to suppress two of the chief sources which provide the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with unofficial information and curb bureaucratic tendencies toward suppression. Against the consensus of Congress and in defiance of the conclusions of searching investigations he himself sponsored, Fulbright is determined to destroy Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe.

Fulbright's vendetta, marked by a vitriolic denunciation last week, is difficult to understand. It contravenes his previously stated ideals. It contradicts his constantly expressed desire for better relations between East and West—and a real, rather than merely pro forma, end to the cold war.

At best, one can conclude that Fulbright is badly informed. But, most distressingly, his rejection of the findings of two Library of Congress investigating teams indicates that he may not wish to be better informed. Those teams heartily recommended keeping the stations alive.

Both Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe were created as weapons of the cold war, and both were largely financed through the Central Intelligence Agency. But, as the senator knows, the passage of time alters all human institutions. Having moved with the times, the two Munich-based radio stations now play a role quite different from their original function. Rather than intensifying international tension, they encourage liberalization and stimulate internal dialogs in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In Romania, where a new campaign of intellectual repression is under way, I recently found that Radio Free Europe broadcasts were the ordinary citizen's chief source of nongovernmental information. Romanians learn not only of developments abroad, but even of internal events—cultural as well as political—from Radio Free Europe. Even Soviet diplomats comment privately on their content.

In Poland at the end of 1970, shipyard workers revolted and violence spread to students and other groups. Radio Free Europe monitors picked up reports from faint local stations—and RFE gave the news not only to the outside world, but to Poland as well. Absolute proof is, naturally, impossible, but there is general agreement among divergent political views that Radio Free Europe helped prevent a bloodbath and encouraged formation of the present, liberalized Warsaw regime. Free availability of information can, as the senator says speaking of the United States, produce great benefits.

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Fulbright has charged that the two stations' programs impede East-West relaxation and interfere with negotiations between Washington and Moscow. Perhaps the senator is so naive that he truly believes the

Soviet Union—or any power—will be moved to make concessions if its negotiating partner offers unilateral concessions like abolishing Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. But his own experience in the Senate must have taught him that successful negotiation results from mutual concessions. Even with the best of will, one-sided concessions are likely to produce not reciprocal concessions, but the demand for further concessions.

It would be tedious to cite all the misconceptions Fulbright has expressed. One wonders, for example, why he is now so insistent upon strictly government-to-government contacts while he was formerly the apostle of people-to-people contact. But one further argument absolutely demands comment.

Why, asks Fulbright, are our Western European allies not interested in helping to finance the two stations?

The answer is twofold. In the first place, no government—or individual—will offer to pay for something he gets for nothing. In the second place, a committee of influential Western Europeans, alarmed by Fulbright's vendetta, is now talking seriously and concretely of contributing to the support of the stations.

In Germany, the authoritative Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung reported flatly that the Social-Democratic administration disagreed with Fulbright's assertions. Chancellor Willy Brandt's *ostpolitik* is spearheading efforts to improve East-West relations. But Bonn feels, the newspaper declared, that the stations are not an obstacle to relaxation of international tension—and are by no means "superfluous." In Belgium, Joseph Luns, former Dutch foreign minister and present secretary-general of NATO, last week expressed the gravest concern regarding growing suppression of information in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe challenge that trend toward increasingly suppressive and obdurate regimes.

## GAGGING RADIO FREE EUROPE

Broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which for years have been beaming news and analysis of world issues behind the Iron Curtain, are in acute danger of being silenced.

Bills of the Senate and House for federal subsidy of between \$35 million and \$38 million have been arbitrarily bottled up in conference committee.

For two decades Moscow's jamming has failed to stop the programs, which send free world facts and interpretation of political, economic and social problems into Russia and Eastern Europe.

Now one senator and a few misguided conferees threaten to destroy these patently valuable broadcasts.

The congressional jammer is J. William Fulbright, who denigrates the programs as "a relic of the cold war." This is familiar, standard conduct for Fulbright in almost every matter that tends to be against the Soviet propaganda line.

The senator has used his weight as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as well as devious maneuvering, to block adoption of the Administration's request for funds to continue these two radio stations.

He declared yesterday the Senate would accept the House bill — for permanent operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty — "over my dead body."

Fulbright is willing to continue the two stations through June 30. No longer. He said in a Senate speech last week these broadcasts "should be liquidated."

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It would be tragic and a body blow to democratic processes, if the Arkansas senator were to succeed in his plan to destroy two of the prime outlets informing peoples behind the Curtain.

Congressional sentiment is overwhelmingly for retaining the radio systems. But so far Fulbright, marplot of so many United States foreign policies, has effectively blocked the subsidy legislation.

Two key Senators can have a significant influence on whether Senator Fulbright succeeds. One is Democratic Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, who opposes RFE but supports Radio Liberty, which has had a great deal to say in behalf of Soviet Jews. The other is Missouri Sen. Stuart Symington.

Senator Symington has tended to agree with Fulbright in many policy areas. He is reported to "have an open mind" on the radio issue.

The Globe-Democrat strongly urges Stuart Symington to use his considerable influence to support continuation of both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty on a permanent basis, with State Department support through federal funds.

Failure to break the Fulbright jam in the conference committee would be a serious error in American policy, and a dismal blackout for millions in the USSR and its satellite European states — people whose only knowledge of what goes on in the world, especially in America, comes through these channels to which they tune surreptitiously but with eager regularity.

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For years these two radio stations were supposedly supported by wide public donation. Actually they were largely financed by the CIA's federal funds. This was a mistake, though the fact has been widely known since 1967. Now the Administration has asked open government subsidy.

Both radio programs have done a good job in telling the United States story to people who could never know it otherwise. The Library of Congress was asked to study the two radio operations and reported, back Jan. 26 with warm praise and recommendation for continued federal financing.

These reports have been largely sequestered, apparently by Fulbright, from other members of the conference committee.

Congressional authorization under which the radios operate formally expired on Tuesday. It is understood RFE and RL have sufficient funds to continue another week or two.

After that, unless the jam created by Senator Fulbright is broken, they will have no alternative but to stop.

This would be a grave misfortune for American diplomacy. It would be against public consensus and apparently the majority of Congress.

It is possible that vigorous support by Senator Symington can break the bottleneck and preserve Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. This would be an act of competent judgment and statesmanship.

STATINTL

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POST-DISPATCHE - 326,376  
S - 541,868

STATINTL

FEB 24 1972

### *Crumbling Towers Of Babel*

Having failed to obtain a congressional appropriation for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the State Department apparently is taking its case to the people.

Words like "freedom" and "liberty" arouse emotions and the Executive Branch is quite capable of using them to get what cannot be had through a logical discourse. But we suspect there is little chance of success because this time at least Congress probably reflects popular sentiment regarding taxpayer-financed radio stations beaming propaganda to East Europe and the Soviet Union. What's more, the stations are simply incompatible with President Nixon's declared goal of bringing about "an era of negotiations." Senator Fulbright was correct when he called RFE and RL relics of the cold war.

Still, John N. Irwin II, the Acting Secretary of State, claims that the propaganda outlets "are a most useful enterprise . . . bringing to individual citizens a responsible and realistic account of developments within their own societies and the world at large from an independent outside source." The trouble is that the "outside source" is not independent, nor does it bring "a responsible and realistic account of developments." Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty perform functions which do not lend themselves to handling by the Voice of America, the formal instrument of the State Department for propagating the American viewpoint. In other words, the two other U.S. Government-operated stations do VOA's dirty work.

A few years ago the two stations distinguished themselves not by informing people in the "chained" world but by deceiving the American public. Omnipresent commercials

urged private donations for "private" stations. Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson made annual appeals for donations without any allusion to the fact that the stations were actually financed principally by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The CIA reportedly spent half a billion dollars on the stations until last summer when Congress approved an interim financing measure. The funding has now expired. No more public money should be used to keep these relics artificially alive. If Congress can find any excess money, it should go for multi-lateral foreign aid projects.

STATINTL

**Congressional Report****RFE, Radio Liberty  
Split Hill Groups**

House-Senate conferees broke up in complete disagreement yesterday on legislation to continue the life of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, two U.S.-financed stations which beam programs into Eastern Europe from Munich.

"The patient looks awful, awful sick," said Sen. George D. Aiken (R-Vt.) after the conference broke up without agreeing to meet again.

Formerly financed covertly by the CIA, the two stations have recently been operating with emergency funds provided by Congress, but these expired Feb. 22.

Senate conferees want to authorize continuation of the stations only through June 30, with the State Department required to make a case for anything beyond that. House conferees are holding out for an authorization to carry the stations through June 30, 1973.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) has made plain he'd be just as glad to see the stations die. He regards them as a useless irritant to East-West relations.

**Arrogance Claimed**

Rep. Peter J. Frelinghuysen (R-N.J.) said he hoped for another emergency financing resolution to bypass Fulbright. "I've heard of the arrogance of power we saw misused today," he said. "We were told to accept the Senate proposal to continue for four months or there'd be no program at all."

The House, in a belated at-

tempt to keep 'em down on the farm, approved rural development programs yesterday that could cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

Funds would be lent and granted to small towns, communities, non-profit and business groups and, in some cases, individuals for job-building ventures aimed at halting the flow of ex-farm workers to big city slums.

Authorizing legislation was passed by voice vote and sent to the Senate, where hearings have been held on a similar bill.

The bill would authorize appropriations up to \$580 million a year for federal grants to build water and sewer systems, control pollution, and plan industrial development in rural areas.

Fulbright said the stations, in the absence of conference agreement, now had no authority to continue in existence and a start of liquidation should begin.

The Senate formally removed ailing Sen. Karl Mundt (R-S.D.) from his committee assignments and named two senators fighting for reelection to the vacated posts.

Routinely and by voice vote, with no audible dissent, the Senate unseated Mundt and named Charles N. Percy (R-Ill.) to the Foreign Relations Committee and Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.) to the Appropriations Committee.

Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) was given Percy's seat on Appropriations.

STATINTL

# Fulbright reaches to switch off radio

By Lucia Mouat  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor.

Washington

Congress, which frequently complains about its limited powers, is on the verge of exercising those it has—to cut off this country's 20-year-old major communications link with the people of Eastern Europe.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, beamed to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union respectively, have been hanging on by the thread of congressional emergency funding since fiscal 1972 began last summer.

This week those funds ran dry.

Although both houses of Congress have passed authorization bills, a conference to resolve the differences has not yet been scheduled.

Sen. William J. Fulbright (D) of Arkansas, who time and again has urged that the radios be relegated to the "graveyard of cold-war relics" explains that Thomas E. Morgan (D) of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee has been out of town. Others aver that Senator Fulbright, chief foe of continued operation of the radios, is encouraging a filibuster of sorts for the specific purpose of letting the funds run dry. One conference that was held Jan. 26 ended abortively.

## No foot dragging

A House Foreign Affairs Committee aide, who says Representative Morgan was in Washington last Wednesday and Thursday, says, "We're not dragging our feet—the House has been ready and anxious to go to conference any time Senator Fulbright (one of the five Senate conferees) says he would go."

The State Department Tuesday issued an unusually lengthy supportive statement on the radios' behalf. Acting Secretary of State John N. Irwin said, "Their demise would be a great loss."

During Questioning, Richard Davies, deputy assistant secretary for Europe, responded to a question on radios effects on détente by saying, "We've never seen any indication that international radio broadcasting has hampered that development."

Senator Fulbright, who as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, wields considerable influence over his colleagues, argues that the radios are propagandistic tools that have no place in a period of East-West détente.

Radio defenders, including the nation's major newspapers, counter that the two operations have evolved away from propaganda toward more sophisticated, accurate reporting of the news inside those countries where broadcasts are heard. Library of Congress studies, requested by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and given little public circulation, attest to the change. They say Radio Liberty, for instance, is neither "a cold-war operation nor is its staff a group of cold warriors."

## Specialties discussed

Unlike the Voice of America, which features only United States news and, because of its direct government control, with a decidedly favorable slant, the radios specialize in news and commentary on East European developments that listeners, with only censored material at their fingertips, might not otherwise know about. While Nikita S. Khrushchev's death, for instance, was not reported on Radio Moscow for close to 48 hours after the event, Radio Liberty had a documentary on the air within hours. The audience is large—55 million for Radio Free Europe alone—and program jamming continues vigorously.

In the view of the Radio Liberty spokesman, the major flaw in Senator Fulbright's argument on détente is the assumption that the future of East-West relations will be decided by the governments involved independently of public-opinion pressures on them. Not so, he says.

While it may appear logical that since both branches of Congress have passed authorization bills, a conference to find median ground should be held, some argue if the radios are to be killed anyway at some point, perhaps now is as good a moment as any.

The Senate bill, less generous than the house two-year authorization, ensures survival only until June 30, when fiscal 1972 comes to a close. At that point the Senate would have to come to grips with the whole issue once again.

MIAMI, FLA.  
NEWS FEB 23 1972  
E - 93,538



## Sylvan Meyer

### 'Freedom radio' victim of changing foreign policies

We, the people of the U.S.A., are undoing a lot of programs in foreign relations formerly considered built in to the system.

Red China, now known as the People's Republic of China (PRC), is by President Nixon's Peking pronouncement no longer expansionist in its revolutionary ideals. For years our country has felt that the PRC sponsored and funded enclaves of subversives in dozens of African and Latin nations.

If the PRC no longer follows an imperialist course, then of course the old domino theory lacks validity. India, Japan and Indonesia, not to mention Thailand, Malaysia and the rest are safe. At least from the Chinese.

India isn't peace-loving anymore. It is militarist. The military dictatorship of Pakistan, now bereft of its eastern dominion, is peace-loving or at least temporarily too preoccupied to worry about military ambitions.

And now Congress is considering stopping funds for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the powerful stations that fought the cold war by drumming U.S. views — outside the policy confines of the U.S. I.A. and the Voice of America — deep behind the Iron Curtain.

Freedom radio stations irritated the Russians, Bulgarians, Czechs and East Germans no end. They broadcast mighty signals to jam western messages. Nevertheless, starved for information from the outside, their people listened. The youth of Communist nations learned of rock and roll, the Jefferson Airplane and so forth from freedom radio, all subsidized by the CIA.

These stations represented what some Americans thought to be ideological warfare, ideas vs. ideas. Our ideas are better, of course, but we could never be sure just how these stations were phrasing American political conceptions.

Former Vice President Hubert Humphrey, visiting Miami, is of a mind to let the stations expire. "Other countries thought we were interfering with their affairs," he said. "But if the stations just broadcast straight news, the information would be valuable to people denied complete news in their own media."

It is a puzzlement. Should we go from something questionable in value to us to nothing at all, or try a different tack without propagandizing other peoples? Would the CIA then pay for a straight news station? Isn't

the Voice of America supposed to be disseminating reasonably dependable news reports, even when the news makes Uncle Sam appear a little shabby?

One thing hasn't changed, though our policy makers never banked on the principle to begin with: the real conflict among men does involve ideas, life principles, economic and religious theories. We never truly understood this in Vietnam and that's why we've fallen on our collective faces. Bullets alone don't convince people democracy can work for their well being.

Neither should we peddle philosophies through any agency ever connected with or funded by the CIA because who would believe, even in America, in the integrity and purity of a news outlet dependent upon a secret security agency's support?

Perhaps we are coming out of a long night of myth and superstition in foreign relations. Perhaps we are merely changing our dream scenarios. There is no indication in military budgeting that an era of good feeling is upon us. Dismantling a couple of radio stations might be the only tangible sign we'll have for a while.

STATINTL

## Samizdat, Meany and the CIA STATINTL

During the past couple of years the capitalist press, especially the New York Times, has reported how Soviet poets, writers, and scientists have resorted to "samizdat" to get their words to the world.

Via "samizdat" — self-publishing — the beleaguered intellectuals, through typewritten carbon copies, mimeograph, hectograph or other primitive publishing means, have bared their tortured souls, and have appealed to the conscience of the world for support, or so the Times claimed.

We now have the Library of Congress to thank for removing the veil from "samizdat."

Dr. Joseph G. Whelan, head of the Library of Congress' anti-Soviet operations, revealed last week that the "samizdat" business is a CIA operation.

The Library of Congress has been an unlikely source for truth about the socialist world, devoted as it is to anti-Sovietism.

However, when Senator William Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, demanded that the U.S. quit funding Radio Liberty, a CIA operation in Munich, West Germany, Whelan complained that this would end the means of distributing "samizdat" in the Soviet Union. This "movement will unquestionably receive a serious setback," Whelan said.

The alleged cry for freedom from "Soviet intellectuals" is thus revealed to be, as long suspected, just a fink CIA operation.

It shares this distinction with Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and the Assembly for Captive European Nations.

All have been fed out of the U.S. Treasury to incite subversion and rebellion against socialism.

George Meany's complaint last weekend that the ACEN's \$250,000 a year payoff has been ended is one more token of the fact that his heart belongs to the CIA, as does his "foreign secretary," Jay Lovestone.

Meany's spiritual and other relations to the CIA are of long standing. His opposition to the Soviet Union and socialism reflects his devotion to U.S. imperialism. That devotion accounts for his unconscionable support of the ravaging of Indochina by the U.S.

Meany's devotion to U.S. imperialism is betrayal of the most elementary interests of the U.S. workers, is enmity to the national liberation movement throughout the world.

M - 463,503  
S - 867,810  
FEB 22 1972

STATINTL

## Keep Free Voices Speaking

Unless the unexpected happens, Congress today will let Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty die of lack of funds. We believe that such an eventuality would be a painful and unthinking blow against the dissemination of ideas and fact — and against the human aspirations of millions of Eastern Europeans and Russians.

The fiscal crisis is the product of a fit of excessive enthusiasm about the spirit of detente with communism and legislative manipulation largely deriving from the legislative-executive tug-of-war — and of peace.

The price tag is \$36 million a year. Appropriation bills have been passed by both the House and the Senate. The measures differ substantially; among other things, the Senate version is for a one-year program and the House's is for two years. No conference is scheduled, and a temporary continuation of funding runs out tonight.

Without new funds, both organizations report, they will have to disband within no more than two weeks.

The most effective enemy of the new funding effort has been Sen. J. William Fulbright, whose opposition was succinctly defined in a speech to the Senate last week: "These radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold war relics."

Much of the popular support enjoyed by Senator Fulbright and others who share his distaste for the programs comes from the appalling fiscal history of the operations. Slightly more than a year ago, Sen. Clifford P. Case divulged that the preponderance of the radios' expenses for their more than 20-year history had been supplied covertly by the Central Intelligence Agency, while the American people and Congress had been left with the impression that private contributions had been carrying the burden.

The Nixon Administration backs a new pro-

gram, incorporated in the House-passed bill, which would set up and fund a non-profit organization independent of the government. Much of the virtue of the stations' effectiveness has been in the fact that their programming has not been tied to official American foreign policy, a detachment which the House proposal would keep alive. Senator Fulbright managed to limit the Senate's bill to a one-year appropriation which would put the stations under the control of the Secretary of State — thus involving them directly in policy.

For all the unforgivable impropriety and duplicity of the now-known CIA front operation, the stations have served, we believe, an enormously important role.

Both are headquartered in Munich. RFE broadcasts in native languages to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania, and has a staff of about 1,600. Radio Liberty, with a staff of about 1,000, broadcasts in Russian and other languages used in the Soviet Union.

In the aftermath of Senator Case's disclosure, Senator Fulbright asked scholars of the Library of Congress to evaluate the programs. To his surprise, the reports were highly favorable; the Senator refused to release them.

But a few days ago, the Radio Liberty report, by the Library's Soviet and Eastern Europe expert, Dr. Joseph G. Whelan, was published in the New York Times.

In part, Dr. Whelan's study said: "The reality of Radio Liberty conflicts with its popular image. It is neither a cold war operation nor is its staff a group of cold warriors. On the contrary, Radio Liberty accepts all Soviet institutions, though not its ideology, and seeks to bring about peaceful democratic change from within."

In contrast to the impression which Senator Fulbright and other opponents seek to give, we believe the effect of such communication is to reduce the rigid polarization of people and policies in the Free World and the Soviet bloc. Gradually, but significantly, we have seen evidence that awareness of the ideas of the outside world has encouraged intellectuals and others in communist countries to press, sometimes with startling effectiveness, for liberalization and reform.

To send the major conduit of these ideas to Senator Fulbright's "graveyard" for the sake of inertia — would be a sad and inexcusable act of resignation.



SYRACUSE, N.Y.

HERALD-JOURNAL

E - 129,656

HERALD-AMERICAN

S - 251,094

22 FEB 1972

## Voices silenced

Dr. Joseph G. Whelan, a Library of Congress specialist in Soviet and East European affairs, reported to the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee that the reality of Radio Liberty, threatened with extinction, "conflicts with its popular image."

He advised the committee and the Congress:

"It is neither a cold war operation nor is its staff a group of cold warriors. On the contrary, Radio Liberty accepts all Soviet institutions, though not its ideology, and seeks to bring about peaceful democratic change from within."

"The professionalism of the staff is apparent in the quality of their product, their multilingual facility, the unique combination of American and western scholarship with the native talents of former Soviet citizens, and finally the existence of an organizational spirit that seems to arise from a conviction of participating in creating positive change in the Soviet Union."

Another Library of Congress researcher, James R. Price, expressed similar conclusions to the committee and the Congress in his report on Radio Free Europe which broadcasts to Bulgaria, Czechoslo-

vakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania.

Because Sen. J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas Democrat, wants to substitute his foreign policy for that of the Department of State, both stations are teetering on the edge of dismemberment.

He has been blocking a House-Senate agreement for current funding and has been maneuvering to eliminate funding for the upcoming fiscal year.

The chairman of the foreign policy committee had hoped the Library of Congress reports would support his own bias. Instead, the researchers gave the two stations, funded covertly by the CIA in previous years, not only an A for effort but an A for effectiveness.

For example, Dr. Whelan said silencing Radio Liberty would dry up an outlet for the underground writers in the Soviet Union and tune out a wave length that provided Soviet citizens with a "free press."

"The liberalizing movement," he wrote, "will unquestionably receive a serious setback."

Sen. Fulbright, who asserted these "relics of the cold war" should be discarded, hasn't been listening to his own short wave receiver lately to check on what American listeners can hear.

The Senate's foreign policy committee should be relieved of legislative responsibility for these stations to avoid dismantling their carefully organized staffs. Then funds should be voted for fiscal 1972 too.

The stations are more in tune with the realities of the world than the senator.

STATINTL

## *Radio Free Europe Still Has a Part to Play*

When American public—or political—opinion swings, it tends to swing hard, and this is likely to be more and more of a problem for the Nixon Administration as it trumpets its “breakthrough” in Peking this week and, presumably, further successes in Moscow in May. No matter what the true measure of the rapprochement achieved in either Communist capital, there will be a tendency on the part of some to exploit a “new era” in world relationships as a reason for scuttling anything and everything that smacks of the dark, old Cold War days. A case in point is the effort now being conducted in the Senate, largely by Senator Fulbright, to choke off appropriations for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which beam broadcasts into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, respectively, with the help of government funds. The CIA used to finance these broadcasts covertly and after this was brought inescapably to light two years ago the government took over the burden openly, but on a temporary basis while debate continued about whether these operations should be continued, and in what form.

With the question still unsettled, a continuing resolution authorizing temporary funding of RFE and RL expires today and the money will run out in a few weeks. This is just what Senator Fulbright thinks should happen, his point being that everything is changing, what with Mr. Nixon's new approaches and new evidence of conciliation in China

and the Soviet Union, and that therefore RFE and RL should “take their rightful place in the graveyard of Cold War relics.” The Senator would have us believe, on the basis of White House briefings he has received about the President's policy, that broadcasts of this sort behind the Iron Curtain are contrary to the President's purposes in Peking and Moscow.

The President, however, has not only never said as much, but has actually expressed quite the opposite view; in a recent letter to Mr. Stewart Cort, the chairman of a fund which seeks to raise private money to supplement RFE operations, Mr. Nixon said he thinks the free flow of information is “indispensable” to more normal relations between East and West. Given the nature of the service performed by RFE and RL, it would seem to us that their programs fit the President's definition of what is still needed in Europe, for all the bright hopes of easing tensions and developing detente. For these are not provocative, propagandistic diatribes and still less do they “sell” America, U.S.I.A.-style. Rather, what both stations attempt to do is tell the people of Eastern Europe and Russia news about themselves and their own countries which their governments don't want them to hear. They do this job professionally, responsibly, and effectively, by almost all accounts, and the only real question for Congress, in our view, is how RFE and RL should be set up in a more permanent way so that they can go on doing it.

## Saving Free Voices

STATINTL

For a generation now, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have contributed enormously to enlarging the market place of ideas in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Their transmissions have made available to those countries factual news of the outside world that the governments involved would have preferred their subjects did not know. In addition, these stations have broadcast the writings of such dissidents as Nobel Prize-winner Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, whose masterly novels and stories are prohibited in the Soviet bloc. A Library of Congress study of these stations, made at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has paid high tribute to these organizations' contributions toward liberalization of the Soviet world.

But now both these stations are threatened with extinction tomorrow unless House and Senate conferees end a Congressional stalemate. This situation arose because each chamber voted a different bill authorizing the continuation of these broadcasts.

If the deadlock kills Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the chief gainers will be the Soviet bloc's hardliners who hate the two radio stations as allies of the liberal and progressive elements in the Communist world. Moreover, the demise of these broadcasts because of the inability of House and Senate conferees to agree would hardly project a flattering view of the American legislative system, nor would it add to American prestige for Europeans to see an important political question decided by a mere technical stratagem.

We believe the work of these two stations has a lasting validity and importance, but even those of a different view must realize that the existence of these organizations provides potential bargaining counters for President Nixon's Moscow visit next May. At the least, all concerned should be able to agree that a final decision on the future of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty cannot be made until Mr. Nixon has returned from the Kremlin, and Congress can take a hard look at the post-Moscow situation of American foreign policy.

STATINTL

## FUNDING NEAR END FOR U.S. STATIONS AIMED AT RED BLOC

**Cutoff Tomorrow for Radio  
Free Europe and 2d Outlet  
Unless Congress Acts**

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20—Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the American-run stations born of the cold war and secretly financed for more than 20 years by the Central Intelligence Agency, will lose their Government funding Tuesday and are struggling desperately to stay alive.

If Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, has his way, the funding will not be renewed.

"These radios should be given an opportunity to take their rightful place in the graveyard of cold war relics," Mr. Fulbright, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, told the Senate on Thursday.

### Future Seems Bleak

But even if a compromise is reached in Congress to provide additional funds at least through the end of the current fiscal year, which ends June 30, the future of the organizations seems bleak, even to their most ardent supporters.

Through the years the C.I.A. provided about a half billion dollars to the two stations, which broadcast to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Radio Free Europe, with 1,600 employees, was founded in 1950. It broadcasts in native languages to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania. Radio Liberty, with about 1,000 employees, was founded in 1951, and broadcasts to the Soviet Union in Russian and other Soviet languages.

### Nonprofit Operation Sought

Because the stations

broadcast material not available in the controlled Communist media, the Soviet Union and its allies have long sought to still them. They are both based in Munich and the Communist governments have put pressure on West Germany to revoke their authority to operate, a move up to now resisted by Bonn.

The C.I.A. financing for the stations — about \$36-million yearly—came to an end last year after Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, disclosed the extent of the secret funding.

The Nixon Administration, seeking to keep the organizations alive through direct Congressional funding sought a bill to set up a nonprofit organization independent of the Government to oversee their operation. But Mr. Fulbright was able to see their operation.

But Mr. Fulbright was able to get the Senate to pass a measure that would finance the stations through the Secretary of State for only one year. The State Department, arguing that the radios should be "independent" of the Administration backed a House bill that would provide funds for two years and establish a two-year study group.

The differing House and Senate measures must be ironed out in conference but only one has been held and none is scheduled before Tuesday's expiration.

Mr. Fulbright has been accused of trying to "filibuster" the stations to death by delaying conference action. But his staff denied this yesterday, saying that Representative Thomas E. Morgan, Democrat of Pennsylvania, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was out of town last week.

### Scott Is 'Disturbed'

Nevertheless, Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the Republican leader, said Friday that he was "disturbed" that the Senate conferees had not met although "I understand the House has been ready to meet."

He said the Administration was "most concerned" that the stations be allowed to continue.

Spokesmen for the Administration have said that President Nixon was personally concerned, but he has not spoken

cult to generate enthusiasm for appropriations of \$36-million annually in an era when the focus is on negotiation and not dispute with the Russians. Except for Mr. Scott, few Senators have spoken in favor of the stations.

Senator Fulbright said that the Administration was seeking to keep "this old cold war program on the books despite the fact that neither the American public nor the governments of Western Europe are willing to support such a continuation."

### Fulbright Questions Sincerity

He said that continuation of the two agencies raised doubts about the sincerity of Mr. Nixon's desire to negotiate and improve relations with Communist countries.

"I for one, and some of my colleagues," Mr. Fulbright said, "have not been willing to give it a new lease on life. I hope it will come to an end; I feel it should come to an end—it should be liquidated—if an authorization is not enacted."

He indicated that he would oppose another continuing resolution to finance the stations pending legislation. The two radio stations have been operating under such a continuing resolution, which expires Tuesday night.

Both stations have said that they could pay their expenses for a week or two, but would have to cease operations if Congressional authorization was not forthcoming by the end of the month. Congress already has passed an appropriation bill providing funds until June 30, but it was passed contingent on approval of an authorization bill.

Mr. Fulbright had earlier asked for studies by the Library of Congress on the effectiveness of the two stations. He had hoped that those reports would bear out his contention that the stations should be disbanded. But the reports, made available Friday to The New York Times by the Foreign Relations Committee, strongly supported the stations.

### Basic Policy Shift

The report on Radio Liberty, written by Dr. Joseph G. Whelan, a specialist in Soviet and East European affairs, said that the station's basic policy had shifted from its early "liberation" of the Soviet Union to "liberalization" as conditions eased within Soviet society.

"The professionalism of the staff," the report said, "is apparent in the quality of their research product, their multilingual facility, the unique combination of American and West-

talents of former Soviet citizens, and finally the existence of an organizational spirit that seems to arise from a conviction of participating in creating positive change in the Soviet Union."

"The reality of Radio Liberty," the report continued, "conflicts with its popular image. It is neither a cold war operation nor is its staff a group of cold warriors. On the contrary, Radio Liberty accepts all Soviet institutions, though not its ideology, and seeks to bring about peaceful democratic change from within."

Mr. Whelan said that if Radio Liberty was disbanded, the Soviet people "will have lost a free press for the inflow of information" that could not be duplicated by officially sponsored government radios. He said it would also bring the loss of a means of dissemination of "samizdat," or underground writings, throughout the Soviet Union "with the consequences that this liberalizing movement will unquestionably receive a serious setback."

Similar praise for Radio Free Europe was expressed by James R. Price in his Library of Congress report.

A General Accounting Office memo to the Foreign Relations Committee disclosed that Radio Free Europe had received Government grants of \$306,890,469 and raised \$46-million through public fund raising. Radio Liberty got \$158,830,637 from the government. It did not solicit public funds.



STATINTL

**Fulbright urges end of CIA broadcasts in Europe**

WASHINGTON — Labeling the CIA-directed broadcasts to socialist Europe as obsolete, Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark) told the Senate Thursday that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are anachronisms which should be abolished.

Fulbright declared, "The American public recognizes this. So do the western Europeans. The time has come for our government to recognize it too."

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STATINTL*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# Fulbright the Jammer



THE INEXORABLE campaign of Sen. J. W. Fulbright to cast U.S. foreign policy in his own image has almost strangled the broadcasts beamed into Communist Eastern Europe by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Operating from his power base as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Fulbright is within days of cutting off, at least temporarily, vital U.S. government subsidies for the two programs. Unless Congress acts before next Tuesday, Feb. 22, the money stops.

Congressional sentiment for the broadcasts is so overwhelming that it seems improbable Fulbright will ultimately succeed. But he has come perilously close to doing what two decades of Moscow's electronic jamming could not do: End non-governmental communications between the United States and some 200 million residents of the Soviet Union and 100 million in five other Communist countries.

BUT THE TWO programs, ostensibly financed with individual American contributions, have been secretly subsidized by the Central

Intelligence Agency. Even after this was disclosed in 1967, the Johnson administration and then the Nixon administration dawdled about changing this clumsy arrangement.

Finally, a year ago, Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey forced action by demanding an end to the CIA subsidy. Belatedly, the administration proposed overt government financing. Since then, Fulbright has doggedly slowed down legislation. For instance, last summer he urged delay until the Library of Congress Congressional Research Service could study whether "it is in the public interest to provide additional tax dollars for the two radios."

Despite Fulbright's efforts, the Senate and House by the end of November had passed separate bills financing the programs (at between \$35 million and \$38 million a year.) But a Jan. 26 Senate-House conference to resolve the two bills—its first and only session—met icy opposition from Fulbright.

By Jan. 26, the Library of Congress draft reports were available. Fulbright was not pleased. They warmly praised the two programs and recommended contin-

ued U.S. financing. Fulbright's staffers asked the Library of Congress researchers to rework their papers. Meanwhile, other members of the Senate-House conference were unaware of the favorable reports.

THOSE VOLUMINOUS reports explain precisely why Eastern Europe experts are concerned by Fulbright's action. Radio Free Europe, says one report, "contributes substantially to preserve the reservoir of good will toward the U.S." by the Eastern Europeans. "In some cases, regimes have grudgingly adopted some features desired by their publics and supported by Radio Free Europe."

The other Library of Congress report suggests "Radio Liberty encourages detente, amelioration of international differences through negotiations, strengthening of the United Nations as an instrument of peace and creation of a world system based on the rule of law."

But both reports agree (in language eagerly underlined by Fulbright's staffers) that the broadcasts are deeply resented by the Communist governments concerned. To

Fulbright and his allies, East-West detente is a matter for government-to-government negotiation, not for a non-government information service direct to Eastern Europe's masses.

ACCORDINGLY, if the programs are continued, Fulbright wants them under tight State Department regulation (though this is criticized in the Library of Congress reports). But he would really prefer their death. A compromise proposed by House and Senate staffers, putting the two programs provisionally under State Department control, has been ignored by Fulbright.

Whether Fulbright can kill the broadcasts may depend on the two other Senate Democratic conferees: Frank Church of Idaho and Stuart Symington of Missouri. Church is adamant against Radio Free Europe but friendly toward Radio Liberty (because, mainly, of its concern for Soviet Jews). Symington tends to agree with Fulbright but adds he has an open mind. Neither, however, was informed about or has been aware of the favorable Library of Congress reports. Chairman Fulbright the jammer has seen to that.

Publishers-Hall Syndicate



STATINTL

**Munich institute funded by CIA, paper reveals**

FRANKFURT — The West German bourgeois newspaper, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, said on Tuesday that the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich is being financed from the same sources as the Munich-based Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, both of which were set up by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The Institute was established in July, 1950, in Munich; its members are people who left the USSR with the Nazi forces in World War II. The Institute puts out "scholarly" studies on the USSR in Russian, German, English and Turkish.

6 FEB 1972

## Letters to the Editor

STATINTL

### Radio Free Europe

SIR: Your recent editorial, "Peace Corps Crisis," pointed up the power of a single member of the Congress to work his will against a program he dislikes (for whatever reasons of his own) despite general support for that program, provided that that individual is in a position in the congressional hierarchy where his word is the last to be heard on the matter.

I should like to call your attention to a similar situation where the money involved is less than half the requirements of the Peace Corps. I refer to the life-or-death crisis involving Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which Senator Fulbright has criticized much as Rep. Passman has done with the Peace Corps.

The odds at present appear very high that Sen. Fulbright will do his best to close these media despite favorable reports on their operations by the Library of Congress and the General Accounting Office — studies the senator requested in the hope of obtaining material to discredit them.

Thomas B. Crosson,  
Budget Director,  
Radio Free Europe.

Munich, West Germany.



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*Available*

23 MAR 1972

## Senators Take Closer Look

## The Budget for Foreign Policy

By Murrey Marder

NOTHING CAPTURES the attention of federal policy makers so quickly as laying a hand on their supply of money. So when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee began hearings recently for the first time on the State Department's budget there was considerable interest in the government and in the press.

To strike sustained sparks of headlines in a congressional inquiry, however, there must be at least two adversaries to rub together. At the end of the first morning's hearing, therefore, when affable Secretary of State William P. Rogers finished an untrying appearance in which he displayed no desire to quarrel with anyone, especially presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger, most of the broadcasters, cameramen and writing press packed up and left.

There were glum looks around the State Department where morale is decaying even faster than usual since the President's China mission underscored so publicly what has long been so evident: that the most dramatic foreign policy ventures will continue to be run out of the White House through the Kissinger apparatus and that Rogers, in a Harry Truman phrase, will "not fuss" over it—at least not publicly and visibly.

Rogers, in a recent press conference and in the Senate hearing, was consistent in his insistence that he does not feel excluded from anything, that "the system is working very well," that "the foreign policy is very effective," and that in any event it is President Nixon, not Kissinger nor Rogers, who "makes foreign policy."

Even though Rogers may be, as he said, "perfectly satisfied" with his role, the Foreign Relations Committee chaired by Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) is not. Fulbright and his fellow critics who have engaged in an intermittent struggle with two administrations over the shaping of foreign policy have no personal quarrel with Rogers, a longtime friend of Fulbright's and other committee members. However, they see their own power eroded by state's lack of combativeness in asserting its officially proclaimed "primacy" in foreign affairs.

The nub of all this is that the Fulbright committee's functions are derived primarily from legislative jurisdiction over the State Department. As state's influence in the process shrinks, so does the committee's. It has watched the shrinkage with chagrin since President Nixon's decision in 1969 to put Rogers, one of his oldest friends, at the top of State rather than an activist, ambitious, foreign policy professional, and to keep full control of foreign policy initiatives in the White House, with Kissinger as his conceptualizer, most-immediate adviser, director of a National Security Council staff that has grown greatly in size and power, and even, as it has developed, supreme secret envoy.

Kissinger occasionally has met with Foreign Relations Committee members at Fulbright's home and elsewhere—and plans to

again. But he is beyond the Committee's official reach, across the dividing line of "executive privilege" that presidents invoke to prevent advisers from testifying before Congress.

One unannounced purpose of the budget hearings was to explore whether Kissinger in his NSC capacity, might be drawn across the "executive privilege" divide to testify before Congress by reaching for him through the National Security Act of 1947 which set up the NSC.

Fulbright asked Rogers, a former attorney general in the Eisenhower administration, if he believed Congress intended the National Security Council to assume the role it now has in foreign affairs. Rogers said he did, that the NSC was intended as "a forum for presenting different views," with the actual "decisions" made by the President. Fulbright, however, thinks that Kissinger's operation has reached a scope never imagined by Congress.

That issue was not pressed very sharply in the recent hearings, but it is being pursued more openly by the Federation of American Scientists, who note that some presidential advisers who wear several functional hats do testify before Congress in capacities apart from their confidential relationships with the President.

What the Fulbright committee focused on most in two succeeding days were State Department budget statistics. But there was an underlying motive there too. For the same reasons that its influence is linked to the State Department's power, the committee is hardly likely to use a meat-axe on State's \$563 million budget for 1973. It would be skinning its own interests.

Until this month, the Foreign Relations Committee never held authorization hearings on a State Department budget, not even in the so-called "great days" of the post-World War II era, when Republican Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan and Democrat Tom Connally of Texas teamed in bipartisan harmony with the Truman administration to reconstruct Western Europe, build NATO and "contain" the Soviet Union. Fulbright, then a young and enthusiastic supporter of that Establishment philosophy, has come full circle on most of its premises.

The "great days" label was really a tribute to the Senate committee's acquiescence and cooperation with the Truman administration's plunge into what Fulbright sees now as imperialism, rather than an accolade for the committee's independence or competitiveness. The committee in those days was the junior partner of the Executive Branch, not a challenger.

It was normal practice then for the Executive Branch to quietly provide drafts of committee members' speeches; even drafts of committee reports. Vandenberg and Connally, insistent on being privy to the "take-off" of policy, were granted apparent copiers' support.

When Fulbright, midway in the Johnson administration, turned rebel over the Do-

minican intervention and the Vietnam war relations between the Executive Branch and the Foreign Relations Committee, which Fulbright now has headed longer than any other Senator, spun into reverse. His committee was treated as hostile; to borrow the euphemism that the Nixon administration concocted in Indochina, the Executive Branch's relations with the committee often amount to "protective reaction": each often fires on the other preemptively, on the assumption it will be attacked.

To compete in the foreign policy arena, the Fulbright committee has stretched its imagination and resourcefulness. It has sent its own staff investigators abroad, spotlighting many U.S. involvements and commitments, never acknowledged in official public records; it has left a rebellious mark on many pieces of legislation, notably on the conduct of the Indochina war, and the committee now has put before the Senate a major bill based on the work of Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) and others, to curb the President's authority to use troops in war without congressional authority.

The Nixon Doctrine's low posture, and the opening to China, are directions in which Fulbright and his colleagues pointed long ago; but they want to move much faster and farther to wrap up the cold war and U.S. involvement overseas. Last year, the committee hit on the device of attaching a rider to the foreign aid act, requiring the approval of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs committees of the annual budgets for State and the United States Information Agency. These budgets previously were subject only to clearance by appropriations committees, unlike the budgets of Defense and many other departments that regularly are examined in both ways.

The first round of this new approach now has been played out in the budget hearings. One thing they showed was that most senators were surprisingly unfamiliar with routine day-to-day operations of the State Department or State's relationship to the complex NSC structure that Kissinger controls. The bulk of foreign policy is not high wire diplomacy, but increasingly, trade, aid, economic rivalry, technology, legal disputes, military weaponry, international conferences, and the like.

In theory, through its examination of State's budget, the committee, as Fulbright expressed it, can "further the process of restoring Congress' proper role in the making of foreign policy."

Fulbright's committee now has acquired the capacity to influence the priorities of State's spending. But that budget is one of the smallest in the federal government, even in embassies overseas, State Department employees represent only 16 per cent of all embassy employees, with the remainder assigned by Defense, AID, CIA, or other agencies.

Furthermore, budget work is tedious business, and attendance of Senate Foreign Relations Committee members at hearings is already woefully spotty. At this point, the committee's latest departure in its search for a novel but unproved.

# THE AFRICA DOSS

As British influence in Africa declined, so did British secret service sending hundreds of agents to African capitals like Accra, Lagos to buttress "sensitive" states against communism and protect.

E. H. Cookridge continues his exclusive series on the CIA

**T**HE adventurous operations often bordering on the bizarre which the Central Intelligence Agency pursued in many parts of the world are usually ascribed to one man: Allen Dulles. They culminated in the abortive invasion of Cuba in 1961. When Dulles departed from the directorship of CIA after the Bay of Pigs debacle, he certainly left an indelible stamp of his influence as the architect of the mighty CIA edifice and its worldwide ramifications.

The policy of his successors has, however, been no less forceful. CIA activities under its present director, Richard McGarrah Helms, may appear less aggressive because they are being conducted with greater caution and less publicity, and because they have been adroitly adjusted to the changing climate in international politics. In the past CIA gained notoriety by promoting revolutions in Latin American banana republics, and supporting anti-communist regimes in South-East Asia. Its operations in Africa were more skilfully camouflaged. For many years they had been on a limited scale because the CIA had relied on the British secret service to provide intelligence from an area where the British had unsurpassed experience and long-established sources of information. But with the emergence of the many African independent countries, the wave of "anti-colonialist" emotions, and the growing infiltration of Africa by Soviet and Chinese "advisers", British influence declined. Washington forcefully stepped, through CIA, into the breach, with the avowed aim of containing communist expansion.

Financial investments in new industrial and mining enterprises, and lavish economic aid to the emerging governments of the "underdeveloped" countries, paved the road for the influx of hundreds of CIA agents. Some combined their intelligence assignments with genuine jobs as technical, agricultural and scientific advisers.

The British Government - particularly after the Labour Party had come to power in 1964 - withdrew most of their SIS and MI5 officials from African capitals, though some remained, at the request of the rulers, to organise their own new intelligence and security services. CIA



A bloodless coup in Uganda in January last year and installed Major-General Idi Amin as military ruler (Amin is seen here in a section of his troops). How far was the CIA involved in the coup? A protest in Santa Domingo. A pro-rebel poster attacks American intervention



men began hurriedly to establish their "stations" in Accra, Lagos, Nairobi, Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka, the "sensitive areas" in danger of slipping under communist sway.

By the mid-1960s several senior CIA officials, such as Thomas J. Gunning and Edward Foy, both former U.S. Army Intelligence officers, were firmly established at Accra. They were later joined by William B. Edmondson, who had been in the CIA's East Africa, and Mrs Stella Davis, an attractive, motherly woman, whom no one would have suspected of hav-

ing served for many years as a skilful FBI agent before joining CIA and being employed at Addis Ababa, Nairobi, and Dar-es-Salaam, acquiring fluency in Swahili. By 1965 the Accra CIA Station had two-score active operators, distributing largesse among President Nkrumah's secret adversaries.

The Americans had every intention of helping Ghana's economy by building a dam in partnership with a British consortium, the Volta Dam, thus providing hydro-electric power for the

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